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Arcana Aulica:

OR

WALSINGHAM's *MANUAL*

OF

Prudential Maxims,

FOR THE

States-Man and *Courtier.*

To which is added

Fragmenta Regalia:

OR,

Observations on *QUEEN ELIZABETH,* Her Times, and *Favourites.*

By Sir **Robert Naunton.**

LONDON, 23

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ARCANA
AULIÇA

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

TO THE

Reader.

THE *Reader* will here find *TWO Choice Manuals* Drawn into *ONE*; That is to say, *Walsingham's Arcana Aulica*, and Sir *Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia*: The *Former* a *Compendium* of *Politicks*

for the Ordering of a *Court-Life*; The *Other*, a Judicious Collection of *Great Examples*, that have Acted in Conformity to Thoſe *Precepts*, and made themſelves Famous to Poſterity in their Reſpective Stations. *Theſe Two Pieces* have already, and long ſince, been made Publick in *Three Impreſſions* Each, and in Several Forms; to the Univerſal Satisfaction of All Men of State and Buſineſs. So that I might leave this

BOOK

BOOK to ſpeak for it ſelf, without an Advocate, upon the Foundation of its Own Worth, and Merit, if it were not that betwixt the Corruption and Lazyneſs of This Laſt Age, wherein Men have attended their Pleaſures, and their Intereſts, more than their Duty; not onely *Theſe Papers Themſelves*, but the very *Subject* of them has, for ſome time, lain Neglected and Forgotten: But being now

fall'n into a World of a more *Active*, *Enterprizing Humour*, when, in truth, Every *Plough-Jobber* ſets up for a *Politician*, and the *Secrets* of *Government* are become the *Common Topick* of *Chriſtendom*, I reckon'd that I could not do my Countrymen a Better Service, or make them a more Acceptable Preſent, than in the Revival of Theſe Two Copies, which are in Effect but One Epitome of what is fit to be

be Known, and fit to be Done upon the Matter in Queſtion; the One ſerving onely for a Rule, or a Leſſon to the Other.

Now as to *Walſingham's Arcana*, the *READER* is to take This along with him, That it is a Tract of *Policy*, not of *Morals*, and as well Inſtructive, what Courtiers are *Not* to do, as what they *Are*. It ſets forth the True Reaſons, Methods,

Riſe, Progreſs, and Event of Things, in ſuch a way, as ſerves both for Direction, in order to the Attaining of Honeſt and Honourable Ends, and for Precaution, toward the Avoiding of Snares and Temptations, and Detecting the Impoſtures that Occur in a Court-Life. And to ſhew the *Reader*, that Theſe Reſearches of his have ſomewhat more in them than the Vain Images of Speculation and Fancy, he Backs all his Diſ-

Diſcourſes and Opinions with the moſt Pertinent and Venerable Authorities that Hiſtory could afford him, either upon Obſervation, or Experience. By the Benefit of This Mixture, he Joyns Profit with Delight; Firſt, by ſetting the Underſtanding Right in all the Circumſtances of the Queſtion; and then by Engaging the Will, and Inclination, to an Aſſent to That Rule. To ſpeak all in One Word; the Whole Tract is but ſo

many

many *Political Maxims* Orderly Digeſted under ſo many Articles or Heads in the Nature of an *Eſſay*, for the Common Benefit of All thoſe that propound the making of their Fortunes by a Court-Application.

Here is enough ſaid already to Juſtifie the Publication of This Little BOOK, with a Reſpect to the Time, the Place, the People, the Argument, and the Preſent Occaſion; for

it

it ſeems to be a very Proper, a Seaſonable, and an Uſeful Work to All Theſe Intents: Not but that I have had Other Obligations upon me of Civility, and Good Manners, as well as of Diſcretion in Submiſſion to ſeveral Powerful Recommendations from Men of Quality, Vertue, and Good Letters, for the Committing of it to the Preſs. And I have dealt ſo Faithfully upon the Whole Matter too, that it comes into

into the World now just as I Found it, without Altering, Adding, or Diminishing, somuch as one Single Syllable: referring the *Reader* to the *Author* himself to Expound his Own Meaning upon any *Ideas* he may have had of Persons and Cases.

As for Sir *Robert Naunton's Fragments*, I shall need say no more of them, to the Reputation they have had in the World, than that they have

have been Highly Eſteem'd, as an *Authentique Collection* of *Curious Remarks*, by the Generality of Men of Place and Buſineſs: Inſomuch, that ſince the *BOOK* was out of Print, it has been the Conſtant Work of Divers Clerks in *PARLIAMENT*, and *Term-time*, to Tranſcribe Copies of it for the Uſe and Service of the Lovers of *ANTIQUITIES*, and *State-HISTORY*; And Theſe COPIES had the Honour

Honour afterward to be Treasur'd up among their Choiceſt *MANU-SCRIPTS.*

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Arcana Aulica:

OR,

Walsingham's Manual

Of Prudential Maxims for the *Statesman* and the *Courtier*.

CHAP. I.

The several Ends of Courtiers, and the means to attain them.

IT is necessary that *all Men*, who desire with *Prudence* and *Order*, to *Govern their Affairs*, do in the first place, propose unto themselves, an *End* whereunto all their actions must tend. Those that *look* towards the *Court*, do not all fix upon the same *Ends*; some the *Hope of Gain*, and others the *Desire of Honour*, leads; the *Ambition of Rule*, draws not a few; and very many

steer that Course, meerly out of a *busie inclination*, to the *Engrossing*, *Crossing*, or *interposing* in *other mens affairs*; whilst the number of those is *very small*, who Primitively intend the *Honor*, *Safety*, and *Advantage* of the *Prince*.

But though their *Ends* be diverse, yet the *way* to *attain* to whatever *End* any man there hath pitcht upon, is but one, and Common to all that move in that *Sphere*, to wit, the Favour of the *Prince*; in obtaining *which* the industry, and labor of all *Courtiers* is imployed. In order whereunto it is in the first place necessary, that you be *known* unto your *Prince*; and then either by your *Behaviour*, your *Parts*, your *Actions*, or some other *laudable means*, that you make your self *Grateful* in his eye, yet there are *those* for whom the *Splendor* of their *Family*, the *Authority* of their *Office*, or *Convenience* of their imployment (whether it be *high*, or *low*, come unto them by *inheritance*, or got with money) hath prepared an access unto the *Prince's person*; so that they being hereby exempted, from the toil of seeking how to become *known* unto the *Prince*, find half their work performed unto their hands; whilst those to whom these *Introductions* are denied, find their greatest difficulties in their first beginnings: But when they are once *known* unto the *Prince*, as he judges them *fit for his Service* they

they are often *preferred* and *truſted* before others; by reaſon that being Raiſed from a *low Condition*, or a *mean Fortune*; they are more *addicted* and *ſubject* to the *Prince's will* whom they *ſubmiſſively Reverence*, as the onely *Author* of their Advancement.

It is otherwiſe with *Courtiers* that are *born Great*, for upon thoſe the *Dignity* either of their *Imployment*, or their *Family*, impoſes a neceſſity of having a regard unto their *own Honor*, and of Preferring ſometimes their *own* to the *Prince's opinion*; who beſides is more oft unwilling to promote *Theſe* through a certain *Emulation*, or *Fear* leaſt their *Swelling Greatneſs* ſhould inſult at laſt againſt *him* that is the *Author* of it; and he not able to repreſs *them* without danger to *Himſelf* and his *Kingdom*, whilſt on the other ſide, the *Oppreſſion* of him that riſeth from a *mean Condition*, is far more eaſy; onely let the *Prince* turn his back upon him, or abandon him to the *Great ones* who for the moſt part look with *envy* upon ſuch) and *he is Loſt*. I intend here only thoſe wiſe *Princes* that have known, how to limit within due *Bounds*, the *Power* of thoſe they love and advance; not conferring all the authority and truſt of his *Kingdom* upon one of *theſe* men, in *ſubjecting* even the *Peers* unto him which having been done by ſome *Princes*, did *ſeldom* or almoſt never *ſucceed well*.

CHAP. II.

The ways to obtain the Prince's Favour.

THE ways whereby *Courtiers* get into *Authority* and *Favour* with the *Prince*, are *two*, above all other most usuall and frequented. The *one* is of those that seek after *Publick Offices* and *Dignities*, Climbing up the stairs of honour till they come within a stage of the *Favorite* himself. The *other* is of those that *follow the Court*, seduloufly seeking all occasions of being imployed in the *secret affairs of the Prince*, and made use of in *busines of the Greatest Trust*.

The *Last* of which ways, is without doubt the *shortest*, and traced with their *steps*, who have lived in the *greatest Favour* with their *Princes*; as *Mecœnas* was to *Augustus*, and *Sallust* both to him, and his Successor *Tiberius*, of whom *Tacitus*, Annal. 3. Sallust, *although the ways of honour were easie unto him, imitating* Mecœnas, *without the Senatorial Dignity, outwent in Power many that had been honoured, both with Triumphs and the Consulship, and varying from the custom of the Ancients, through his delicacy, and neatness, seemed prone to nothing but the Plenty and abundance of luxury; although he had indeed a vigorous mind, capable of the weightiest busines; by so much the more sharp*

and

and active by how much the more he made shew of dulness and sloth.

Like to him was *Mella*, of whom speaks the same *Tacitus*, Annal. 12. *Mella born of the same Parents, that* Gallio *and* Seneca *were; through a Preposterous ambition laid aside all pretence to publick Honours; to the end, that being only Roman Knight, he might equal in power Those that had been Consuls; Besides, he believed it the shortest way to the getting of Money, to be imployed in Agencies, and Sollicating the Prince's business.*

CHAP. III.

The ways to become Known to the Prince.

THE ways of *becoming Known* and *Grateful* to the *Prince*, are various, according to the *Diversity* of the *Courtiers*, and the *Times*; there are some that make themselves *known* by their *Actions signally*, either *Profitable*, or *Glorious*; or else by a *more* than Common *Vertue*, and *Honesty*. The *Commendation of others* gives to many, both Access to, and Interest in the *Prince*, which is indeed the most usual way of all. For *Princes* live in such a degree of eminence *above others*, and are so *Hedged in* with the number of *Peers* and train

of *Veterane Courtiers*, that a *Stranger* can hardly thrust in amongst the throng that stand in his way, unless either there be *some one* to take him by the hand, and make his passage, or else that himself, by some extraordinary enterprize do *attract the Eyes* of all men upon him, and, amongst others, those of the *Prince*.

And here the Fact of the Architect *Dinocrates*, or as some call him *Stasicrates*, is very memorable. He desiring to become known unto the *Great Alexander*, when all the *Courtiers* had refused to bring him to the King, bethinks of a way of presenting himself all naked, anointed with Oyl, a poplar Crown on his head, upon his left shoulder a Lyon's Skin, and holding a great Club in his Right hand: And thus Accoutred, he comes into *Alexander's Presence*, as he was sitting on his *Throne*. The novelty of the thing drew the Eyes of all upon him, and moved *Alexander* himself so far, as he caused the Man to be brought unto him; and though he approved not of what he propounded, yet he commanded he should be Enrolled amongst his *Family*.

I do not bring this Example to perswade any body with the *like Foolery*, to insinuate himself into the *Prince's* Favour, but to the end I may demonstrate, That those who are *Strangers* and *unknown*, unless they be assisted by

by some *one in great Authority*, can hardly *Screw* themselves into so great a train, as do Surround the *Prince*, except either by some *memorable Action*, as we have said before, or by some *unusual Accident*, they deserve, as the *Poet* says,

With fingers to be pointed out,
For some strange thing amongst the rout.

CHAP. IV.

The Humour and Inclinations of the Prince and his Familiars, are to be known.

OUr *Young Courtier*, who desires to be *Known* and *Loved* by the *Prince*, must observe well the *Manners* and *Conditions*, not onely of the *Prince himself*, but also of such of his *Followers*, as he most *Trusts* and relies upon; together with the *Peers*, and all others who may either afford him any *Help* or *Countenance*; or else on the contrary (stirred up either with *Emulation*, *Fear*, *Envy*, *Hate*, their *own*, or their *Friends concernments*) work him any prejudice. It is chiefly necessary that he make a full discovery of the *Inclinations* and *Customs* of the *Prince*, that for the most part follow the temperature of his body;

which though by *wary Princes*, they be much Concealed and Smothered, yet it seldom happens but that sometimes they *break out*, and as it were laying aside *disguises*, show themselves. Since all their Actions are so exposed to the eyes of Men, it cannot be, but *Some one* or *other*, must observe whereunto their *Inclinations* tend. Sometimes they are so *Oppress* and *Vex* with the *weight of Business*, that forgetting their *Artifices*, they *betray* their dispositions; *Tiberius* himself, although a most skilful *Master in Dissembling*, could not set so good a face upon it, but that Time would by little and little, bring all his *Arts to light*.

But since *Those* of other Men are so many, the *Propensions of Princes* must needs be Diverse, and almost Infinite; yet they may be reduced to *two Heads*. The one of which, includes all that tends to the *Greatness of his State*; The other his *Personal Pleasures*; His *Greatness* consists either in his *Fame* and *Authority*, or in *Riches*; the duty of his *Subjects*, or lastly, in the Strength and Faithfulness of his *Armies*. In these things he ought to accommodate his *Endeavours* to the Nature, and *Disposition* of the *Princes* affairs; which he that shall with Dexterity and Skill perform, provided he be neither suspected nor hated for *other Reasons*, cannot fail of becoming Acceptable unto the *Prince*.

Make

Make the ſame judgment of the *Pleaſures*, and *vicious Affections* of the *Prince*. If he be *Diffident*, and of a Fearful *Diſpoſition*, believe that a *Bold Informer* will be grateful unto him, who ſticks not at the diſpleaſure of the *Great ones*, and is ready to *Execute* the *Prince's* commands, whatſoever they be; as *Tacitus* Deſcribes *Sejanus*. *He had a body* (ſays he, *Annal.* 4.) *patient of toyl, a bold mind; he was a cloſe concealer of himſelf, and a raſh accuſer of others: Compoſed he was of a mixture of flattery, and pride, with an exterior face of modeſty; and yet inwardly fraught with an exceſs of Ambition.*

If the *Prince* delight in *Drunkenneſs*, he will alſo take pleaſure in men addicted to the ſame *Vice*; for which cauſe *Tiberius* loved *Pomponius*, and *Lucius Piſo*, of whom *Suetonius*, Cap. 24. de Tiberio. *After this, the Prince, to the corruption of publick Manners, ſpent two whole days and nights, eating and drinking with* Pomponius Flaccus, *and* Piſo; *to one of which he gave immediately the Province of* Syria, *and to the other the Government of the City, calling them in his Letters, his moſt pleaſant and familiar Friends.* The ſame *Tiberius*, as *Suetonius* relates, preferred a moſt *ignoble Fellow* to the *Queſtorſhip*, before many *Noble pretenders*, becauſe at a Banquet, where himſelf was drinking, he drank off *Nine Gallons* of *Wine*.

Their ſociety in their *Luſt*, did indear *Tigellinus* to *Nero*. Tigellinus *was more Powerful* (ſaith *Tacitus*, *Annal.* 14.) *in the boſom of the* Prince, *as being admitted to his moſt Private Luſts.* So *Petronius*, *that Maſter of elegance* (for thoſe are the *Hiſtorians* words, *Annal.* 16.) *was taken in, amongſt few, to the Familiarity of* Nero; *who thought nothing* Pleaſant *or Sweet, but what* Petronius *Approved of.* And according to this example, did *Commodus* and *Heliogabalus*, confer all the Dignities of the *Empire* upon men for *Luſt* and *Licentiouſneſs*, moſt like unto themſelves.

Mutianus was not beloved by *Veſpaſian* ſo much for his *Fidelity*, *Duty*, and the *Merit* of his *paſſed Services*, as that becauſe he was more dexterous than others in Feeding his *Avarice.* To *Iſacius Angelus*, who after the death of *Theodorus*, got the *Empire*, the ſame Avarice endeared a certain *Boy*, who though he ſcarce knew how to Write, kept the Accounts of his *Exchequer*, out of hope onely of ſharing in the *Bribes*, which were given him largely, from all thoſe that uſed his *aſſiſtance.*

Manuel Comnenus, alſo *Emperor*, ſeeking ſome Rough *Exactor* and *Craſty* raiſer of his *Tributes*, that might ſupply his Prodigality with *Money*, choſe *John Ducius*, a rude unſufferable Man, difficult of acceſs, and intolerable harſh.

Whoſe

Whose Language, and his looks did well
His Nature and his Office tell.

And not content with this, lifted him up to that Authority, that he did not onely Excel all others in Dignity, but also would Dare to violate the *Edicts* of the *Prince*, and *Orders* of the *Senate*; abrogating, under pretence of encreasing the *Treasury*, some of the greatest and most necessary *Offices* of the *Empire*: Such as was the *Commander* of the *Gallies*, the chief strength and defence of that *Imperial Monarchy*.

CHAP. V.

The Prince's Affections, whether, and How to be complied with.

But that they who desire to become *Acceptable* to the *Prince*, ought to *Sooth* him in all his *Inclinations*, is not onely a thing publickly granted, but also authorized by the *daily practice* of *Courtiers*. An honest man will wonder at it, and think that by this Rule that teaches us to *Humor* all the dispositions of the *Prince*, he is shut our from *Court*; since *Princes* often run courses much astray from the paths of *Reason* and *Justice*. Truly, he that desires to lead

lead a life altogether Innocent, and Remote from the converſation of men addicted to *vice*, and to their own *Corrupt Inclinations*, ſhall in my opinion, do very well to abſent himſelf from that *great Courtezan*, the *Court* (if I may ſo call it) that ſometimes *Corrupts* men of the greateſt *Integrity* and *Innocence*.

Let us ſee an example or two of this Corruption. *Feſtinus* the friend of *Maximinus*, during *Valentinians*'s Reign, governed *Aſia* with a wonderful repute of *Gentleneſs* and *Modeſty*; being a ſharp reprover of the Violence and Cruelties of *Maximinus*, and of the *Calumnies* and *Frauds*, wherewith he circumvented many: But at laſt obſerving that his *Companion* by theſe means had gotten the command of the *Prætorian Bands*, next in dignity to the *Emperour* himſelf, he changed his manner of life, and imitating *Maximinus*, did many *unjuſt* and *cruel things*. *John Pucius* (whom I mentioned but a little before) adminiſtred for a time the *Affairs* and *Treaſures* of the *Emperour Manuel* with great integrity; which cauſed, that the *Emperour's* pride and inhumanity was in ſome ſort tolerable to thoſe that were well diſpoſed amongſt the *Subjects*: but at laſt (as *Nicetas* witneſſeth) giving himſelf over to the deſire of wealth, he was in *covetouſneſs* inferior to none, that ever had born thoſe

offices

offices before him; exhorting his very *friends* and *ſervants*, to imitate his example, as many of them did; and the reſt, though better, and incorrupted themſelves, yet were fain ſilently to ſuffer *others* to be depraved, for fear of the danger that hung over thoſe that ſhould oppoſe him.

Ariſtides the *firſt*, both in name and nature, being by the *Athenians* made *Treaſurer*; In the firſt place, according to his own *Diſpoſition*, and the duty of an *Honeſt man*, went about to hinder all thoſe that were under his *charge*, from robbing the *Treaſury*; whereupon they preſently accuſed him of *Cheating*, and *Bribery*, as one of the corrupteſt perſons that ever bore that office; inſomuch, that he had like to have been *condemned*: But being at laſt *quit*, and his *office* ſtill continued, he determined to *imitate* his *Predeceſſors*, and wink at the thefts of his *Companions*; by which means, he preſently reobtained the name of a *Good man*, in the opinion of all.

Such things often fall out in the *Courts* of *Princes*, either through the *Malice* of thoſe that are in moſt *Authority*, who can endure no man more vertuous than themſelves; or elſe through the *Folly* and *Imprudence* of the *Prince*. The *preſervation* of our *integrity* in *Court*, I confeſs, is therefore very difficult: yet if any, either through the *neceſſity* of his *Fortune*,

Fortune, the *Eminence* of his *Birth*, the *Dignity* of his *office*, or the deſire of ſerving, either his *Friends* or *Country*, is lead unto it, or called thereunto by the *Prince*, ſhall undergo this kind of life; and as occaſion ſhall require, ſeek to do thereby good unto himſelf, and ſerve his *Friends*; in my judgment he may perſiſt therein, without prejudice to his *upright heart*, at leaſtways for a time.

I ſpeak of the *Courts* of the *worſt Princees*; for to live in the *Court* of a *Wiſe Prince*, that loves *Honeſt* and *vertuous men*, the difficulty is not ſo great. In times paſt, good men did not always undergo Publick employments with a deſire of *doing ſervice to their Countrey*, ſo much as meerly to keep *wicked* and *corrupt men* out of thoſe *charges*: And for the ſame reaſons, ought they to ſeek acceſs unto *Tyrannical*, and *voluptuous Princes*; to the end, That if they durſt not *directly*, at leaſt *obliquely*, and as much as in them lay, they might impede the evil, and pernicious *Counſels* of the *Prince*; either by *framing delays*, and *contriving difficulties* in his way, or by offering unto him *more Mild* and *Plauſible reſolutions*.

Burrhus and *Seneca*, who according to the Rate of thoſe times, were accounted not only good *Courtiers*, but *vertuous men* alſo, when being made *Governors* of *Nero's* youth, they

they observed the humor of this *Prince* apt and prone to *Lust* and *Pleasure*; lest he should break out to the *Rapes* of the *Noblest Women*, they permitted him a *Mistriss*, whereby for a time they kept him in order: Who took into his Familiarity *Annæus Serenus* for a cloak unto his *Lust*, *Who feigning to be in love with this freed Woman, did openly own those gifts to be his* (saith *Tacitus*, Annal. 13.) *which the* Prince *in private bestowed upon her.* This must a good man do, who not being able to master the *Luxury*, *Liberty*, and *Perverseness* of the *Prince*, must at least divert them, and bend them other ways, whence there is least danger like to arise, either to the *Publick*, or the *Prince's* honor.

CHAP. VI.

The Scarcity and Condition of honest men, in Corrupt and Vicious Courts; The Swarms of Ill Men, and their Arts of Ingratiating themselves.

PErhaps some one will say, that it seldom falls out, that a *Tyrant*, or a dissolute *Prince*, will take into his Favour an *Honest Man*; I do not deny but it is very rare, but yet

yet I must affirm there are few *Princes Courts*, in which there are not some *good men* found; if not call'd thither by the *Prince*, at least drawn thither by their own desire of *doing good* to others, and infringing the power of *evil men*: Who stand their ground there to that end, through the assistance of the best disposed *Courtiers*, and through the friendship and patronage of some Great man, observing carefully there, that wholesome rule of *Lepidus*, whom *Tacitus* (Annal. 4.) brings for an example of a Good and wise *Courtier*, who neither with an unseasonable Contumacy did exasperate the *Prince*, nor with a *sordid flattery* Sooth him in his vices. The same *Tacitus* for these reasons commends *Capito* and *Labeo*. *That age* (saith he) *had at once two Ornaments of peace; But* Labeo *was of a more incorrupted liberty, and therefore more esteemed, whilest* Capito's *pleasing humour was more acceptable to the great ones.*

I do not deny, but a *Courtier's* life will be far more difficult to an honest man than to another; But withal I must affirm, that the advantage of *Glory* and content of *Mind*, that will arise from thence, will much recompence the trouble of it. Since that, if he carry himself wisely, and accommodate himself to those things that he sees, he cannot change nor overcome; I dare say, he will at last become acceptable to the worst of

Princes,

Princes, and dearer than others that are of a worse repute; who seldom manage the *Prince's* business with a due fidelity and care; or at least not equal to that he might easily promise to himself from the hands of a vertuous and honest man. And hither tends the Counsel of *Sallust* and *Mecænas*, whereby the first recommended to *Julius Cæsar*, and the latter to *Augustus*, the choice and friendship of *Good men*. Because Conscience and care of their Reputation restrains these more powerfully from dishonest things, than the *fear* of punishment, or the *want of* Power doth others.

But as I have said, the vicious are always in *Court* in greater throngs; who chiefly by two ways do Ingratiate themselves with the *Prince*; first by Flattering and Fulfilling whatever he shall please to command; and that by so much the more servilely, by how much the more their hopes of gain are greater. Next for that *Princes* are pleased to have those about them, in comparison of whom, themselves, though *bad* God knows, seem to be *good*. Some there are that think also their lives more secure in the company of those that are most like unto themselves. *Dionysius* the Tyrant, being requested to expel out of his *Court* one, who for his villainy was hated by all men, answered, *No, he would keep him, lest otherwise he himself should become*

become the moſt hateful perſon in the Court. It is natural to thoſe who find themſelves obnoxious to any *vice*, by comparing themſelves to thoſe that are worſe, to ſeek to purchaſe to themſelves ſome ſhew of *Probity*; And it hath been an *Old* trick of *Princes*, on purpoſe to chooſe unlikely *Succeſſors*, to the end their own acts and vertues might appear better and more illuſtrious: For *Tacitus* is of opinion, that for no other reaſon did *Auguſtus* adopt *Tiberius*, whoſe arrogance and cruelty he knew full well; nor *Tiberius* chooſe *Caligula*.

It is principally neceſſary, that a good man be very Sober and Circumſpect in his diſcourſe; for *Princes* ſeldom or never love an *unwary* and *careleſs* liberty in any kind of men, how vertuous ſoever they be. Neither did *Plato*'s freedom with *Dionyſius* ſucceed well, for therefore was he delivered up to a needy Mariner, and ſent to be ſold in the Iſle of *Creet*; whence being redeemed by certain Philoſophers, he was admoniſhed *either to abſtain wholly from the converſation of Princes, or to ſpeak plauſible things*: With the like advices did *Ariſtotle* furniſh his Cozen *Calliſthenes*, then going to attend upon *Alexander*, to wit, *That he ſhould very ſeldom ſpeak, and then never but pleaſing things, to him upon whoſe Tongues-end lay the diſpoſal of his life.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Whom, When, and How we ought to Flatter; the Nature of a free and tolerable Flattery, and the neceſſity of it in Court.

THough it be Inconſiſtent with the ſtricteſt rules of Morality and Vertue, yet of Neceſſity, if you live in *Court*, you muſt ſometimes ſo Flatter the *Prince*, as may gain him unto you. But all manner of Flattery is not Tolerable, a Baſe and Servile one was diſpleaſing even to *Tiberius* himſelf, of whom it is written by *Tacitus*, Annal. 3. that going out of the Senate, he was once heard to ſay of thoſe Flattering Senators in Greek; *O Men born to ſlavery.* There are circumſtances wherein Flattery uſed, is as prejudicial, as when it is wholly omitted; For it happens often, that he whom we Flatter too groſly, ſuſpects deceipt. It is requiſite ſtill that Flattery have ſomething of truth, and ſome ſhow of liberty mixed with it, (it is the opinion of *Æſchines* and *Plutarch*) whereby we may perſwade not onely the *Prince*, that we ſpeak heartily, and as we think, but others alſo, and ſo preſerve our Credit.

Cræſus

Crœsus, who whilest he was a King himself, had learnt well the humor of Kings, and what would either please or displease them: When upon a time *Cambyses*, King of the *Persians*, demanded of those that were about him, *What they thought of him in Comparison of his Father* Cyrus; They all affirmed, That *he was greater than* Cyrus, *as who unto his Fathers Kingdoms had added* Ægypt, *and the dominion of the Sea.* When *Crœsus* (then a Captive) came to speak, he affirmed, *That he was much inferiour to his Father, by reason that he had as yet begotten none equal to himself.* This answer had some taste of freedom, and therefore was more pleasing to *Cambyses's*-vanity, than all the rest had said.

That Flattery is very notable of *Valerius Messalla*, recorded by *Tacitus* Annal. 1. Messala Valerius *added, That it was convenient the Oath of Allegiance should every year be renewed in* Tiberius's *name; who being demanded by* Tiberius, *whether he had any commandment from him to give that advice, he answered, That he spoke it of his own accord; and that in what concern'd the* Common-wealth, *he would use no man's advice but his own, whatever the offence or danger were: Which was a wonderful unpractised kind of Flattery.*

Like unto this, is that which the same *Author* relates of *Ateius Capito*, Annal. 3. Lucius Ennius, *a Gentleman of* Rome, *was accused of*

of Treason for melting the Image of the Prince, and making it into Plate; Cæsar *commanded he should not be prosecuted for it:* Ateius Capito *openly complained with a seeming liberty, that the power of determining in such a case ought not to be taken from the* Senate, *nor so great a Crime pass unpunished; and that he was slow in resenting his own, least he should also punish an injury done to the Common-wealth.* It were easie to bring more examples of this kind, but these are sufficient to instruct those upon whom there is imposed a necessity of Flattering, that they may take heed, left their Flattery bring upon themselves, or others, any Private or Publick damage; it is sufficient that it be such as may sometimes satisfie the *Prince's* vanity.

CHAP. VIII.

How to Manage the Counsels of a Prince.

OUr *Courtier* ought to beware how he engages himself (though called) in the Counsel of a Proud and Violent *Prince*; for such as those do ask Counsel in no other sort, than as *Xerxes* did when he went to invade *Greece:* He called together the *Princes* of *Asia*, as it were to deliberate with them

them about the *Conduct* of the *War*; but they being come before him, he said, Lest I should seem without your advice to act all things according to my own will; I have called you my Lords to Counsel: yet I would have you know, that I expect here from you obedient *minds*, and not troublesome *debates*. *Cambyses*, the Predecessor of *Xerxes*, being about to Marry his Sister, demanded of his Counsellors, whether any Law of the *Persians* prohibited such a Marriage; They perceiving the King did not ask this question, so much to resolve himself of any doubt, as to *Sound* the dispositions of the *Nobles*, answered, That truly there was no *Law* that warranted expressly this that the King was about to do; but there was one that affirmed, that whatever the King thought fit to do, was *Lawful*. Thus out of the *Humour* of the *Prince*, and the *Nature* of the affair, we must first make a judgment, whether it be fit, or safe, when he asks our *Counsel*, to deliver freely our opinions; or to humour him in his inclinations.

You have *Royal* examples of this already, I will now bring you one of a man, who though he were not a King, yet bore the Office of a King; not above an Age ago in *Spain*: *Ferdinand* being dead, the Pope and *Maximilian* the *Emperour*, exhorted *Charles* of *Austria*, then in *Flanders*, to take upon him the title of

of King of *Spain*; although his Mother *Joan*, *Ferdinand*'s daughter, were still living, but wholly unfit for Government, by reason of her want of health. The States were hereupon assembled, and before them Cardinal *Ximenes*, to excuse the novelty of the thing, discoursed excellently of the reasons of what was done. The *Grandees* more observant of ancient customs, and the *Queen*, than was fit against a *King* that was shortly to succeed of Course; Protested very obstinately against it. *Ximenes* being angry, rises up and tells them, *the thing that was treated of, was not to be called in question; neither was there any need of their advice in the case: That Kings being to enter upon their Kingdoms, are not to expect the consent of their Subjects; that they who were assembled, were not called out of any necessity, but that they might have occasion by the* Promptitude *of their suffrages to endear their* Prince *unto them. But since they interpreted that as a due, which was only a favour, they should see that without their approbation he would proclaim King* Charles *at* Madrid; which example all the rest of the Cities quickly followed.

Such a manner of proceeding, not only in these cases, but mostly in all others do *Princes* use; scarce asking any mans advice, but either to the end they may Countenance their own resolutions with the consent

sent of many, or else to discover the disposition of the person they advise withal, as *Tacitus* witnesseth that *Tiberius* oft did. The *Courtier* must therefore Sollicitously sift into the *Prince's* mind, lest otherwise he should chance to give offensive *Counsel.* If the *Prince's* inclination in the thing debated be *doubtful* unto him, let him seem to discuss the matter, and so laying down arguments both for the one, and the other side, let him leave the *Prince* to his own election: Who (if the thing advised of, be not unalterably resolved upon already) having heard the reasons that may be brought against it, if he be discreet, will change his Mind.

Neither in this case will there be any ground for that *bashfulness* (of blushing, to seem so much inferior to any body, as to follow their Counsel) which though it be very hurtful and unbecoming unto them, is very familiar amongst *Great Men*; for having said what you can, you leave the freedom of determining all to the *Prince's* Prudence, whereby you will also avoid the danger that many times *Counsellors* are obnoxious unto, if their Advices succeed ill. And if the *Prince* following his first resolutions meet not with success, he will, by so much the more acknowledge and esteem the prudence of that *Courtier*, who foresaw the Approaching *misfortune*, when it was yet avoidable.

If

If you be *Preſt* to deliver your opinion in an *unlawful* matter, either ſeek ſome pretence of *delay*, or elſe intreat that ſome third perſon may be called for the better diſcuſſing of the buſineſs; whereby the caſe being more maturely weighed, it may appear what is moſt for the *dignity* and *ſafety* of the *Prince*. By this means *Burrhus* defeated *Nero's* firſt attempt againſt his Mother's life; *Promiſing that himſelf would kill her if ſhe were found guilty; But ſince it was afforded unto every other perſon, a trial could not be denied unto his Mother.* Whilſt the examinations are taking, *Nero's* fury aſſwages, and his Fears grows leſs, ſothat his determination, though it was not quite *altered*, yet it was *laid aſide* to another time.

But this manner of proceeding takes not place upon all occaſions, being proper only in *deſperate* and *ambiguous* caſes. Moreover, before we adventure upon it, we ought to know, whether the *Nature* of the *Prince* is compatible with *delays*: for there are ſome ſo *headſtrong* and *impatient*, that there is no means more certain of incurring their *diſpleaſure*, than by uſing *delays*.

CHAP. IX.

The Sudden Resolution of Princes, How to be Moderated.

WHen (as it often falls out) our *Advice* is not asked in the *resolution*, but for the manner of executing what is resolved upon already; if the *business* do seem inconsistent with *reason* and *honesty*, we must propose the *remotest means* we can think of for the effecting of it; and countenance this our *Advice* with the pretences of *Facility*, *Equity*, and *Security*; shewing withal, that *sudden* undertakings, are full of *hazard*, and *difficulty*. When we have to do with those *impatient* kind of *Princes*, we ought to be ready, and have always our *Wits* about us for these *sudden occasions*, and then if they be not unsufferably *rash* and *wilfull*, no doubt but they will follow that course which we shall demonstrate to be most *Safe* and *Easie*: Yet if their madness be such, that they will not hear *mild* and *gentle* Counsels, his Adviser may yet excuse this his wary Prudence with a *Care* and *Affection* to the *Prince*; desiring rather, that things should be done *Slowly* with security, then *Rashly* with the ruine of his Master.

Now if so be, that in that *Headlong* course that the *Prince* hath *wilfully* chosen, *Difficulties*

alties or *Straits* do occur, he will much more reflect upon the *Prudence* of him that would have diſſwaded him in time, and perhaps for the future, be willing to *hearken* to him, propounding *Milder* ways. Beſides, this gaining of time doth frequently afford Subject of *Moderating* the *Prince's* paſſion, and of *Bridling* his deſires, or elſe of letting him ſee, that what he is about is either wholly *impoſſible*, or elſe cannot be effected without great *abſurdity*.

For it after happens, that the ways which *Princes* propoſe unto themſelves, are accompanied with ſuch circumſtances of difficulty, as are not to be overcome; and to theſe kind of *Straits*, as I would not have you *exhort him*, ſo I would not have you too much *diſſwade him* from them, (rather ſuffer him with a *reſpective ſilence* to take his own courſe, leaſt you diſſwading out of theſe *difficult* ways, he ſeek out ſome more *eaſie* one of compaſſing his will;) which otherwiſe having *toil'd* himſelf out of breath amongſt the *Obſtacles* that he met with, he would voluntarily give the buſineſs over. But ſometimes it falls out that *Princes* commit the execution of ſome *Wickedneſs* or *Injuſtice* to an honeſt man: In which caſe truly (though all good men ought to ſuffer any violence or misfortune rather than conſent to be made the *Miniſter* of *villainy*.) I

fear the number of theſe is very few that are ſo *Generouſly* reſolved, as by a *paſſive diſobedience* to expoſe themſelves to the ſacrifice for another; eſpecially if the *occaſion* offered, and the *nature* of the *Prince* admits of no denial, or excuſe, nor affords any way of caſting that *diſpleaſing imployment* upon ſome third perſon.

Which later courſe *Burrhus* took, *Nero* reſolving the ſecond time upon his *Mother's Murther*, full of ſo much the more care and eargerneſs, by how much the danger of her contrived *Shipwrack* in the *Tyber* had produced no other effect, than that the *Woman* always before *malicious* and *greedy* of *revenge*, was after ſo great an injury become more enraged than ever. *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, being call'd to Counſel, ſtood long ambiguous and doubtful what to ſay, as *Tacitus* reports *Annal.* 14. ſaying: *They were both of them a long time ſilent, fearing leſt they diſſwade in vain; At laſt* Seneca, *hitherto the forwarder man, caſt his eye upon* Burrhus, *as if he would have asked, whether the execution of that Murther ſhould not be left to the Soldiers;* Burrhus *prevented him with an anſwer, and ſays that the* Pretorian Bands *were all devoted to* Cæſar's *houſe, and ſo mindful of* Germanicus, *that they would act nothing of cruelty againſt his Progeny; and therefore that* Anicetus *ſhould perform his promiſe.* So he freed both

both himself and his soldiers, from the execution of that ugly act.

I confess, he is not beholding unto *you*, whom, to save your self innocent, you shall intangle in such an employment: But should such an occasion happen, I thing it fitter that some such man as *Anicetus* was, should undergo the *infamy* of such an act, than any *vertuous* or *honest man.*

Yet the safest way of all is in time to *foresee*, and in their birth to *prevent*, and occur to the *unjust desires*, and the *unlawful designs* of the *Prince*; and before they either take *Root*, or appear above *Ground*, to suppress and pull them up. There are many, who with *Seasonable* and *Gentle Admonitions*, and *Silken words*, as *Parisates* calls them, have done much good, and had wonderful success in *these cases*; yet it is necessary, that whosoever would use such Remedies as these be of *Great Authority* with the *Prince*, who, must hear as much out of *Reverence* as *Love*: And nevertheless, when all is done, though it may succeed well in *this* or *that case*, it will hardly do so in *all*. I am much pleased with the *way* of those men, who are of a *Conceited* and *Pleasant humour*, and for that *Faculty*, acceptable with the *Prince*; who as it were, intending something else, with a fit *Similitude*, or a well chosen *Story*, will represent unto the *Prince* the *Danger*,

and *Foulneſs* of thoſe *Counſels*, wherewith he ſeems to be *carried Headlong* away.

But to do this, there is a great *Nimbleneſs* of *wit*, and *Pleaſantneſs* of *diſcourſe* required; beſides, they muſt take heed the *Prince* ſmell not out, that *himſelf* is the argument of the *Jeſt*. As *Tiberius*, who in the Tragedy of *Atreus*, compoſed by *Scaurus* believed he was reproached of his *Brother*'s murder; and *Domitian*, in that which *Helvidius* had writ of *Paris* and *Cenon*, thought himſelf upbraided with his *divorces*: Wherefore it is neceſſary, that theſe kind of ſtories be skilfully interwoven amongſt other things, not *Squaring* or *Applyable* to the *Prince*; and it is very pertinent to this purpoſe, That they take care not to *Inculcate* too plainly, that *matter* which makes moſt to the purpoſe; though, leaſt it ſhould quite eſcape the *Prince*'s obſervation, it may be, as it were, by a caſual repetition iterated. The conceit and continuance of the *ſtory*, by how much the greater, and more chearful it is, by ſo much the more it will imprint thoſe things that are ſaid; and becauſe they ſeem to come by *Chance*, not of *Purpoſe*, or *Deſign*, they will not diſtaſt the *ticklish* ear of the *Prince*.

For this kind of *Moderation*, whereby you may neither *contribute* to the *Prince*'s vices, nor in vain *reſiſt* them; there are many *critical* times, and means, which

thoſe that attend upon the *perſons*, and are imployed in the affairs of *Princes*, cannot but meet with. If ſo be that the *Caſe* be ſuch, that you muſt needs contradict the *Diſpoſition* and *Inclination* of the *Prince*, you muſt ſeek out ſome other *Paſſion* or *Humor* in him, whereunto he is equally inclined, and ſo beget a *Striſe* and *Contention* in the *Prince's* mind; but we muſt carefully pretend ſtill, that what we ſay, comes from the *Duty* and *Reverence* that we bear him. By this means did *Mutianus* keep *Domitian* in order, and hinder him from joyning with *Cerealis*, as (out of what hopes, I know not) he was about to do, ſays *Tacitus*, *Hiſt.* 4.

CHAP. X.

The ſeveral Natures, and Tempers of Princes, How to be Handled; with the Art of Courtiers in Introducing their Companions.

YEt to do theſe things ſucceſsfully, it doth much conduce, that we know the *Inclinations* of our *Princes*, which depend upon the *Natural Temperature* of their Bodies. The difference and variety of

which is common to them with other men; except, that as they are more *Powerfnl* then others ſo they are leſs *Maſters* of their *Affections* and *Inclinations*; which are for the moſt part, more violent and more unreaſonable in them, than in meaner *perſons*.

He, in whom *Choler* rules, is *Haſty*, *Proud*, and prone to *Anger*; a lover of *Ceremony*, and *Reſpect*; a ſore enemy to thoſe that are but in the leaſt ſort *Refractary*; impatient in *Execution*, and raſh in *Reſolution*; a contemner of all mens opinions, that differ from his own; very apt to commit *Injuries*, yet ſoon *Friends* with thoſe he hath wronged, if they renew not the memory of *Paſſed Enmities*; but a *hater* of thoſe that rip up *old Offences*, and to the end, he may prevent ſuch as he is afraid of, watches all occaſions of doing them a greater *miſchief*.

Whoever hath to do with ſuch a *Prince*, muſt always have his *Eyes* and *Ears* open, that he may readily *underſtand* and *obey* the *firſt Beck*, without making any *reply* or *delay*, leaſt by *Contradiction* the *Prince* come to ſuſpect him of *Arrogance*, as one that would ſeem to think himſelf wiſer than he; let him not ſtick to *ſubmit* himſelf to the *loweſt* kind of *Imployments*, if need be, though they ſuit not with his condition. He muſt be *Patient of Injuries*, and no ways mindful of them; but after a *wrong*, ſo much the more

officious:

officious: He muſt not *brag* of his *merits*, leaſt he ſhould ſeem to reproach the *Prince* with them; but rather heap *Services* upon *Services*, leaſt the memory of thoſe that are paſt ſhould wear out, and to the end, the pleaſure and gratefulneſs of *freſh ones*, may *Revive* the *Remembrance* of the *Old*. When the *Prince* is angry, let him not come *near* him, for all things diſpleaſe him *then*; neither are thoſe that are *deareſt* unto him, grateful in any thing they can deviſe, to ſay or do. *Familiarity* with ſuch *Humours* as theſe, turns into *Contempt*; which for that reaſon, although the *Prince* invite us to it, is to be *avoided*; Let all things rather tend to *Modeſty* and *Reſpect*. For theſe *Lions*, though ſometimes they be *Meek* and *Gentle*, are at other times *Enraged* againſt thoſe they *Love* beſt, and who are in moſt *Authority* with them.

They that are of a *Sanguine Conſtitution*, are for the moſt part of a *Pleaſant Humour*, Lovers of *Mirth*, and *Recreation*; flying *Sadneſs*, the ſeriouſneſs of *Buſineſs*, and trouble of *Debates*, Lovers of *Peace*, leaving the adminiſtration of their *affairs* to others, in whom they ſuffer nothing more unwillingly, than *Complaints*. They are *Courteous*, *Gentle*, and *Free*, if not from all, at leaſt, from any *Grievous Injuries*; more mindful of benefits *Received from others*, than done by

Themſelves; *Complacent*, willing to help, and for the moſt part *Liberal.*

He that lives with ſuch as theſe, muſt omit no circumſtances of *Veneration* and *Reſpect*, but very ſeldom muſt they treat of *Buſineſs*, or ſerious *Affairs.* Thoſe that are imployed in the Greateſt, and moſt Important *Offices*, and concernments of the *Kingdom*, ought not to come near theſe *Princes*, before they be either *Called*, or certain that the *Prince* is not engaged in any *Recreation*; leaſt otherwiſe, they ſhould interrupt him in his greateſt *Delights*, and make him *Bluſh* to be ſurpriſed by thoſe, who, he may apprehend, are *Secretly Angry*, to ſee him no better *Entertained.* For ſo when *Philip* of *Macedon*, was once at play, it was told him, That *Antipater* was at the door, who preſently troubled, and conſcious of his *Tranſgreſſion*, hid his dice under his *Pillow*, Bluſhing that *Antipater* ſhould catch him at that Sport. Therefore with ſuch a *Prince*, as thoſe that manage the *Greateſt Affairs* of the *Kingdom*, in ſerious and weighty *Truſts* do exceed *others*; ſo alſo are they out-gone by *others*, in a familiar and free acceſs to the *Prince*'s perſon; who naturally avoids theſe kind of *Serious Men*, as much as may be. Thoſe men that are of a Jovial and well tempered *Diſpoſition*, and capable as well of *Pleaſure*, as of *Buſineſs*, are chiefly acceptable

acceptable to theſe kind of *Princes*. Provided, That whilſt they are out of the *Prince's* Sight, they do not with too much *Facility* and *Complacence*, loſe their authority with *others*; but they muſt preſerve the *Honour* of their *Rank* intire, for without that (as the *Proverb* ſays) *Familiarity breeds contempt*, and *Contempt* gives encouragement to *Quarrels*, upon the firſt appearance of an *Injury*: Which the *Prince* being an enemy to *Trouble* and *Strife*, to free himſelf of, will endeavour to remove him that ſhall appear moſt *Faulty*.

A *Melancholy* Prince is Slow in his Counſels, *Anxious*, *Thoughtful*, *Diffident*, *Jealous*, *Witty*, and for the moſt part *Peeviſh*; given to *Silence*, and when he ſpeaks, Involving himſelf in *Ambiguous Words*, a *Diſſembler*, apt rather to *Sound* other mens *Opinions*, than *Deliver* his own; an enemy of *Jeſts*, and *Freedom*; a lover of *Solitude*, difficult of *Acceſs*, a friend to *Few*, and to *thoſe* but Coldly; prone to *Hatred*, out of *Diffidence*, an inſeparable *Companion* unto him; *Covetous* and *Fearful*, even to *Abſurdity*; one that Hates equally thoſe that he hath *Offended*, with thoſe that have *Offended* him; implacably greedy of *revenge*, and whom, though reconciled unto you, you ought to be jealous of.

With theſe kind of diſpoſitions, we

cannot

cannot deal with too much *Wariness* and *Circumſpection*; Principally we muſt take care of our *Tongues*, and call, as it were, a *Counſel* upon every thing we ſay; to the end we may ſpeak nothing *Strange* or *Offenſive*, nor indeed, ſcarce at all, unleſs we be called upon: In our *Reſpect*, we muſt rather *Exceed*, than fall *Short*, and altogether *Abſtain* from *Contradiction*, without Preſſing him, when he Demurs in his *Counſels*, leaſt his Melancholy once kindled in *Choler*, never quench till it convert to *Hatred*. In our *Demands*, we muſt not be *Importunate*, when we ſee him deny us Readily; for it is not convenient to accuſtom the *Prince*, to give us *Repulſes*, eſpecially ſuch a *Prince*, who being by his nature prone to ill Suſpicions, will think that man his Enemy, that he hath given a *Refuſal* unto; neither will you Eaſily afterward, by any *skill*, take this *Apprehenſion* out of him; for with ſuch, the *Memory* of an *Injury* endures Long; and meaſuring *Others* by *Themſelves*, they believe all men as *Malicious*, and as *Obſtinate* in their *Hatred*, as they. In ſhort, Theſe kind of men are the *Worſt*, and moſt *difficult* of all *Others*; and whoſe *Temper*, by reaſon of the variety of *Cloudy Thoughts*, that *Hover* in their *Dark Imaginations*, is moſt *Unequal*; which makes their *Converſation* exceeding troubleſome,

The

The *Phlegmatick Prince* participates of the Heavineſs and Slowneſs of the *Melancholy*; but as in *Underſtanding*, ſo in *Peeviſhneſs* and *Diſtruſt*, is Inferior to him; for his heart is, as it were, *Congealed* with *Cold*; and hence it comes to paſs, that he is *Diffident* of none ſo much, as of *Himſelf*; *Fearing* to undertake great matters, becauſe he *Deſpairs* of the *Succeſs*, and knows not how to go about it. He is Doubtful in his *Counſels*, Fearful in *Execution*, not of a *Quick Capacity*; and as his *Hate* is not *Great*, ſo his *Love* is not *Vehement*.

To ſupply the *Heavineſs* of theſe *Princes*, an *Active* and *Ready Miniſter* is neceſſary. When the *Prince* hath once found him capable to Effect thoſe things, that himſelf thought *Deſperate*, diſcovering the weakneſs of his own wit; he *Loves*, *Admires*, and *Cheriſhes* this Man, as neceſſary unto him. And that kind of *Favor*, which leans upon the opinion of *ſuch a Neceſſity*, is of all others *moſt Durable*. Which our *Courtier* once obſerving, let him make it his buſineſs to bring to a *Proſperous Iſſue*, thoſe Buſineſſes that ſeemed moſt *Difficult*, and from which, the *Prince* expected little or no ſucceſs; as it was the Conſtant Practice of that great *Miniſter* of *France*, Cardinal *Richelieu*, who always kept the *King* Intangled in ſuch *Dangerous Undertakings*, That if he *would*, he

he knew not *How* to be without him.

Let our *Courtier* alſo, if it can be ſo contrived, compaſs theſe things, and Execute the moſt material part of his *Buſineſs* himſelf alone, taking heed, however he do, that he take not to his aſſiſtance, a *Helper* or *Companion*, more *Habile* and *Dexterous*, than *Himſelf*: Withal, let him beware he be not too long abſent from *Court*, leaſt he chance to loſe the *Prince*, who if he ſhall once find one *more Able* or *Uſeful* than *him*, he will be either leſs *valued*, or at leaſt be held leſs *neceſſary*; and ſo being laid aſide once or twice, in imployments that ſhall ſucceed in *Other Hands*, will at laſt fall into *Contempt*.

Wherefore it is an Old art of *Courtiers*, not to take unto themſelves any *Companions*, but ſuch as in *Vertue* and *Prudence* they ſhall much excel, to the end, that in compariſon of theſe, their own *Luſtre* may ſo much the more *Appear*, and that the *Prince* being ſurrounded with ſuch as theſe, may not eaſily know where to find one, whom he may either *Prefer* or *Oppoſe* unto the *Introducer* of theſe. Moreover, theſe *Groſſer Souls*, as often as he hath need of them, to whom they do now their *Preſent*, and may owe their *Future advancement*, are eaſie and obnoxious to be *Debauched* by him, and ready for *Corruption*; which he cannot eaſily expect

pect from one that is his *Equal* in *Condition*, or in *Parts*, and who ſtands upon his *own legs*. Theſe are the ſeveral kinds of Humane Inclinations, whereunto *Princes* are no leſs *Subject* than other *Men*, inclining now to *This*, and then to *That ſide*, according to the prevalence of *This* or *That*, Temperature in *Them*.

CHAP. II.

That Age, Buſineſs, Cuſtom, and Sickneſs, alter the Temper of the Bodies and Conſtitution of the Minds of Princes.

NOtwithſtanding that for the moſt part things are thus, yet theſe *Rules* are not *Infallible* and without *Exception*; for *Age*, *Cuſtom*, and *Buſineſs*, alter the *Temper* of the *Bodies*; yea, and the *Inclinations* and *Actions* of *Princes*. In the time of *War*, the *Prince* cheriſhes *Military Men*, but *Peace* being returned into his *Kingdom*, the *Authority* and *Intereſt* of theſe Men doth ſoon wax Old; and then, if the *Prince* inclines to Pleaſure, or any other *Affection*, he will be apt

apt to ſave thoſe that can *Serve*, or Further him in it.

See what *Tacitus* Writes of *Tiberius*, Annal. 6. *He changed his Manners ſtrangely with the Times, whilſt he was a Private Man, and under* Auguſtus *his Government, both his Life and Manners were of good repute; as long as* Germanicus *and* Druſus *lived, he was Cloſe and Crafty in counterfeiting Vertue, as long as his Mother was alive, he kept a mean betwixt Vertue and Vice: For Cruelty he was Infamous; but for his Luſts, as long as he either Loved or Feared* Sejanus, *Secret. But in the end, he burſt out into all Wickedneſs and Diſhoneſty, and caſting away both Fear and Shame, he ſuffered himſelf to be carried wholly by his vicious Inclinations.*

Of *Caligula*, this judgment of *Paſſienus* is very notable; *There was never a better Servant, nor a worſe Maſter.* It is almoſt incredible, what variety of Diſpoſitions were found in *Marius* and *Sylla*; ſo that *Plutarch* doubts, whether *Fortune* wrought this *Change* in their *Natures*, or onely brought to light what before of wickedneſs lay *concealed* in them. In which caſe, if I ſhould ſpeak my opinion, I would declare, I thought they did not *change their Natures*; but onely pull off thoſe *Masks*, that *fear*, and a *narrow Fortune* had *Muffled* them withal. Juſt as *Leontius* ſaid of *Zeno*, *That a Serpent frozen*

frozen with Cold, hurts not; but Warm'd by the fire, thruſts forth his ſting.

Tryphon, as *Joſephus* witneſſes, whilſt he led a *Private Life*, to win upon the People, did *Perſonate a Good Man*; but being made a *King*, he threw off his *Diſguiſes*, and quickly let them ſee, that all that *Vertue* which appeared in him, was *Forced* and *Counterfeit*: And that of *Agamemnon* is not much unlike, if what *Euripides* Writes of him be true; he was *Modeſt*, *Affable*, and *Eaſie of Acceſs*, before he was choſen *Generaliſſimo* of the *Greeks*. But after that Election, he became an *Enemy* to his *Friends*, and Inacceſſible to *All*, in keeping himſelf ſhut up, whereby he became ſo diſtaſtful, that the Precept the *Poet* gives upon this occaſion, is worth Recording.

Thoſe Men are wiſe, that great advancement gain,
And ſtill their ancient modeſty retain.

An excellent *Sentence*, but obſerved by few. *Pollio* truly ſeemed to follow it, if we may believe *Seneca*. *Afterwards* (ſaith he) *being promoted to the Higheſt Degrees of Honour, he never was corrupted by any occaſion, or deviated a whit from his former Modeſty, Temperance, & civility: he was never puſt up with Proſperity, nor with the variety of Buſineſs was he ſo diſordered, as that any one could ſurprize him in a humor derogating*

derogating from the Reputation he had gained before.

For truly, the Defects and Blemishes of *Princes* and *Courtiers*, proceed, for the most part, out of *Pride*, the inseparable *Handmaid* of *Greatness*. This is that makes them *Despise* other Mens *Counsels*, being vainly perswaded, that they do excel other Men, as much in *Prudence*, as they do in *Power*. And some are so carried away with this *Stream*, that they think it below them to keep within the limits of *Law* or *Reason*; believing they cannot be *Princes*, to whom all things are not lawful, they have a mind unto, according to that of the *Poet*.

Vertue, Truth, Faith, such private things as these,
Are not for Kings, they must do what they please.

But if these kind of opinions did onely corrupt the *weakest*, and worst of *Princes*, I should wonder the less; but I see the minds of the *Best Men* to be Blinded also with the *witchcraft* of *Power* and *Rule*. No Man ever yet Exceeded the *Seven Sages* of *Greece*, in giving Precepts of *Modesty*; nor ever were there worse *Tyrants*, than such of *them* as came to Government. *Appianus* being to speak of *Aristo*, reckoned up not a few that bore the name of *Philosophers*, that had plaid the *Tyrants* at *Athens*; naming also

alſo ſome of the very *Pythagoreans*, who being called to Government in *Italy*, did Exceedingly abuſe their Power; which makes me doubt much, whether moſt of thoſe *Philoſophers*, who ſo Proudly Contemn *Honours* and *Dignity*, do it in *good Earneſt*, or not rather for a *Cloak* and *Cover* to their *Small Deſerts*, their *poverty* and *idleneſs*. Surely, if we will believe *Ariſtophanes*, they did not live ſo *Frugally* and *Nearly*, ſo much out of *Vertue*, as *Neceſſity*; and would not refuſe to *feaſt* plentifully, when ever they were invited.

CHAP. XII.

How much Impoſtors are Able to Do by Flattering Princes; and How a Prince is to Beware of Them.

THere are oftentimes *Impoſtors*, who with *Flatteries*, and hidden *Sly Suggeſtions*, Creep into the *Prince's* Boſom, and *Corrupt* their *Nature*. To theſe kind of *Men*, doth *Tacitus* impute the *Pride* and *Cruelty* of *Vitellius*. *Veſpaſian*, who was of a *Gentle Nature*, learnt from theſe people to *Oppreſs* his *Subjects* with heavy *Tributes*, as the ſame *Tacitus* affirms:

affirms: In ſhort, it is certain, that many who have uſed the Service of theſe kind of Men, have ſadly degenerated. Theſe *Impoſtors* ſeek Favor unto themſelves, by ſhowing the *Prince* ways to *Greatneſs*, *Power*, and *Profit*; who by ſo much the more willingly doth hearken to *Them*, by how much the leſs he underſtands *himſelf*. He poor Man, not reflecting, nor obſerving that theſe Men *praiſe* and *ſooth* him; to the end, they may at laſt Betray him to *Contempt*, and *Expoſe* him to the *Hatred* of his People. And truly, to humor and comply with the *Cruelty*, *Covetouſneſs*, and *Luſt* of a *Prince*, is of all others, the ſecureſt way to betray him, for he cannot condemn the *Traytor*, without diſcovering his own *Guilt* and *Vices*.

The *Franconians*, by the help of *Ægidius*, at that time governing in *Gaul* for the *Romans*, had Expelled *Clodius Comatus* out of his Kingdom, whom one of his Friends deſiring to ſee Reſtored, goes over to *Ægidius*, and *Foſtered*, upon all occaſions, as much as in him lay, the *Avarice* and *Cruelty* of the *Man*, which was but too notorious before; whence the *Injuries* of this *Roman* growing Inſufferable, the *Franconians* begin to wiſh for their *King* again, and at laſt *Recal* him to his *Kingdom*. Thus this honeſt *Franconian* made good uſe of his *Flattery*, and by feeding him in his own *Vices*,

betrayed

betrayed his *Maſters* enemies. *Sejanus*, who gaped after the *Roman* Empire, (ſee what arts he uſed,) after he ſaw that *Tiberius*, who by his inſtinct had Impriſoned *Agrippina*, and her *Children*, grew weary of the *City*; ſpur'd that inclination on, hoping, that when the *Prince* was once retired, the *Truſt* and *Government* of the *Empire* ſhould be caſt upon him, as indeed it came to paſs; ſo that for a time, *Tiberius* was onely *Lord* of a little *Iſland*, and *Sejanus* Emperor. *Perrennius* alſo thirſting after the *Empire*, firſt circumvented and made away all thoſe that ſtood in his Light, under pretence of a *Conſpiracy*, that *Lucilla* had contrived againſt *Commodus*; and then Intices the *Emperor* to *Pleaſures*, whereby he himſelf might come to the managing of all things, and at laſt attain unto the *Empire*.

The ſame way took *Bardas*, Uncle to *Michael*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who having taken away *Theoctiſtus*, his *Aſſociate*, and *Tutor* to the young *Prince*, contrived alſo his *Mother*'s Baniſhment; perſwading *Michael* to take the *Government* into his own hands; whoſe young years incapable of *Rule*, he ſoon Diverted to *Delights*, and *Pleaſure*; ſo as he gave himſelf wholly to theſe Entertainments, and intended nothing elſe: *Bardas*, in the mean time, fiſhes eagerly after the love of the *People*, and to that end, converſes

converses with *Good* and *Learned Men*, restored Learning in the *City*, and made many good *Laws*; by which means he would doubtless have *Stept* at last into the *Imperial Throne*, if another had not prevented him. I do not bring these examples, that I may teach how *Princes* are to be *Circumvented*, but that I would have *Princes* themselves learn hence, what *Prudence* and *Caution* is necessary for them to *Discern*, and *Distinguish* the *Counsels of their Ministers*; and chiefly, that they may beware of *those* who are apt to *sooth them* in, and *applaud* their *Lusts* and *Vices*; and learn to think well of *such*, as will sometimes *Modestly* adventure to express their *dislikes* of their *Excesses*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Familiars and Servants of the Prince, and the ways to win them.

HAving considered all things, that our *Courtier* was to observe in the *Prince* himself, let us come to his *Servants*, who, by reason of the Offices they bear, are continually about his *Person*, and may be useful to those that pretend at *Court*, either by procuring them *Extraordinary Accesses*, or by making

making *Seaſonable* mention of them, or by *inſtructing* them of the *Ways*, *Times*, and *Occaſions* of doing their Buſineſs. There are many *Princes*, who being *Private*, put on a quite *other face*, than that they bear in *Publick*; and who more willingly do *Truſt* and *Diſcloſe* their thoughts, to ſuch of their *Servants*, as they think faithful to *them*, eſteeming the *Lowneſs* of their *condition* incapable of *Treachery*, or *Wicked Practices*: Who does not know, that *Claudius* was governed by his *Freedmen*, one of which, called *Pallas*, he had ſo enriched, That upon a time complaining of *Poverty* to ſome body, he was adviſed to get *Pallas* adopt him for his Heir. By this Man's perſwaſion, *Claudius* Married *Agrippina*, after by the help of *Narciſſus* (a *Freedman* alſo) he had deſtroyed *Meſſalina*.

Who can be ignorant, that during the continuance of the *Eaſtern Empire*, the *Eunuchs* many times Governed all? if that had not been ſo, it had been impoſſible for *Arbetio*, the *Chief Ruler* of the *Empire*, to have eſcaped with life, when *Veriſſimus* accuſed him. *Borilus* and *Germanus*, two ſlaves, by the abſolute Authority they had with *Botoniates*, one of the Emperors, made him an enemy to *Iſacius*, and *Alexius Comnenis*.

Yet let us ſuppoſe, That the *Prince* does not impart his *Counſels* to theſe Men, they are

are more easily *Pryed* into by these, than any others: For it cannot be, that *Princes* always wear their *Masks* in private, oftentimes the *Throng*, and a *Publick life*, makes him suppress and hide those *Affections*, which when he is at liberty, and in private, do break out. Wherefore, I conclude it is very necessary in *Courts*, *To think all kind of Men, even the meanest, useful unto you.* And we must believe for certain, That together with their *Authority* and *Fortune*, their *Prudence* and *Discretion*, will grow up; which *Arrian* demonstrates to *Epictetus* in *Epaphroditus*, and his two slaves; The one of which coming to wait upon the *Emperor* at his *Stool*, and the other to have the charge of his *Shooes*; *Epaphroditus* himself, who had *sold them* not long before as *unuseful*, sought now their *Favor*, and praised their *Prudence.*

Fortune hath never scarce been so favourable to any one in *Court*, as not to afford him as many *Enemies* as *Friends*; neither hath it ever yet cast any Man so *low* there, as that he was neither able to *Hurt*, nor *Help* another: Whence it was, that in the time of *Tiberius*, as *Tacitus* says, *It was a great honour to be known to* Sejanus *his Doorkeepers.* It will therefore be a *Wise Man's* part, by all *Becoming* ways, to *endear* the *Servants* of the *Prince*, whatever their Condition be.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Four Kinds of Noble Courtiers; How to be Handled, and made uſe of; how Warily we ought to Deal with Inconſtant Princes.

FRom the *Prince's Servants*, we come to the *Nobles* of the *Court*, which are of ſundry kinds: There are *ſome Illuſtrious for their Birth, but Deſtitute of the Prince's Favour*; others *in Favour with the Prince, but not Laden with Honors*; a third Sort, *that have Honors and Offices, far exceeding their Intereſt and Favour*; and laſtly; *Thoſe who flouriſh both in Favour, and great Imployments*. The Friendſhip of the *firſt* of theſe, will perhaps avail our *Courtier* very little, who are nevertheleſs to be *Honored* and *Reſpected*, according to their Quality; leaſt, though they cannot hurt you themſelves, by their *Friends* and *Followers*, they ſhould do it: For in ſuch *Trains of Dependencies* and *Followers*, *great Families* are often very powerful, either by reaſon of *Old Benefits*, or reverence to their *greatneſs*; or laſtly, (ſince *Princes* minds are *mutable*) out of reſpect to the *Fortune* and *Favour* theſe *Great Men* may yet chance to come into; with this, or the ſucceeding *Prince*.

Archelaus, King of *Cappadocia*, to his great

diſadvantage, did neglect to Honor and Court *Tiberius*, when he came to *Rhodes*; for *Tiberius* afterwards meditating *Revenge*, but pretending another *Cauſe*, called him to *Rome*, where he *Periſhed* miſerably: Which *Reſpect* nevertheleſs the *Hiſtorian* ſays, *He omitted not out of Pride, but for that he was warned by ſome of* Auguſtus *his Favorites, That whilſt* Caius Cæſar *flouriſhed and was ſent into the Eaſt, the Friendſhip of* Tiberius *ſeemed unſafe.* We muſt look therefore upon theſe *Great Men* of Fortune, though not able to *deſerve well of us*, yet powerful enough to *Hurt us*: And though they be unacceptable and ſuſpected by the *Prince*, we muſt yet *Reverence them*, to avoid the *Blame of others*, and *their Emnity.*

If it chance, that the *Prince* will oppoſe you to one of theſe *Great Ones*, as it is uſual with *Princes* to do; as you muſt not *Refuſe* the *Task*, ſo you muſt with great *Art*, *Dexterity*, and *Choice of Occaſions*, undertake it; taking care that you may both *Satisfie* the *Prince*, and *juſtifie* your endeavors to *other men*: It is an enterprize-full of *Danger*, but if at the *Prince*'s inſtance, it be taken in hand, it is the way to riſe.

Yet after you are once ingaged in one of theſe *Brigues*, there are the choice of two ways to be taken, according to the nature of the *Prince you act for*, the *Perſons you have*

to

to do with and the *Times you are in*: Some men *act* all theſe things in their *own name* ſo *boldly*, and with ſo *High a hand*, That all kind of men, except thoſe that are *Great* indeed, ſtrike eaſily *Sail* unto them for fear of *offending* the *Prince*; who approves (as they believe) all theſe *men Say* or *Do*. There are others yet, that take another courſe more ſafe and ſweet, by continually *Waiting* upon the *Prince*, their *Intereſt*, in whom they will *make no ſhew of*, but upon the *Beſt Opportunities*; neither will they take any occaſion for theſe *Contentions*, but ſuch as with *Great Choice* they have *Selected*, as both likely to *Succeed*; and having took effect, to *redound* much to the *Advantage* of the *Prince* and *Publick*.

For you muſt take great heed you undertake nothing you cannot go through with; for beſides that, the *Common People* judge of all things by the *Event*, believing ſtill, that *Juſtice* and *Prudence*, are on the ſide that *Fortune* is; by *Ill ſucceſſes*, you will ſoon diminiſh the *Eſteem* and *Favour*, you have with the *Prince*. For he to take away the *Diſgrace* received, and by reaſon, That he fears either to be *Deſpiſed* of his *Subjects* or *Contemned* by his *Enemies*, whom he hath oppoſed in *vain*, will be compelled to remove his *Favour from*, and *Abandon you*.

Beware, that when I ſpeak of your con-

tention with theſe *Great Perſons*, that you underſtand not, that I wiſh you to intermeddle, when you ſee it cannot be done with *Tumult*, or that you ſhould provoke them with *Contumelies* and *Reproaches*, for that becomes onely a *Baſe Soul*, whoſe judgment is *Corrupted* by *Fortune*: The end of which kind of men is ſeldom happy; as is to be obſerved in *Piſo*, whom *Tiberius* ſent into *Syria*, to *Croſs* the *Hopes* and *Deſigns* of *Germanicus*; againſt whom he carried himſelf ſo *Inſolently*, that when Prince *Germanicus* was dead, *Cæſar* was compelled to *Sacrifice* and abandon *Piſo* to the *publick Hate*.

When I adviſe you to oppoſe theſe *Great Men*, it is in *Caſes* onely, wherein they are to do ſomething that is *unjuſt*, or againſt the *Publick good*, or *Religion*, or that is prejudicial to the *Government* of the *Army*, or the *Treaſures* of the Kingdom: In which occaſions, you muſt ſo comport your ſelf with *Prudence* and *Modeſty*, that all others that are *Concerned*, and all *Honeſt men* may perceive, that what you do, proceeds not out of any *private Enmity*, but onely from your *zeal* to the *Publick good*. If you demand an example to imitate, behold Cardinal *Ximenes*, choſen by *Iſabella*, Queen of *Caſtile*, on purpoſe to *Tug* with thoſe *Grandees*, that were not ſo ſubject to the *King*'s pleaſure, as they are now; Of a *Franciſcan Frier*, he

was

was firſt made the Queen's *Confeſſor*, afterwards by the advice of Cardinal *Mendoza*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo* and Inquiſitor General of *Spain*; which *Offices* he bore with great Authority, being there during the whole Reign of *Iſabella*, and *Ferdinand*, and was even to the time of *Charles* the Fifth, the ſole *Arbiter* and *Moderator* of all *Affairs*; ever contending with the *Great Ones*, but ſo diſcreetly, That he always held both the *Prince* and *People* faſt unto him.

It is reported that he was *Poyſoned*, and he himſelf ſuſpected it, but the fact could never be proved. Wherefore it is better to attribute ſo *Late a Death* as his (for he was very old) to *Age* and *Nature*; and not without reaſon, ſince he preſerved his *Fortune* and *Authority* (both which he owed principally to his own induſtry) *Entire* unto his *End*. *Chico Simoneta* had not ſo good ſucceſs, who whilſt *Francis Sforzia* ruled in *Milan*, was called to the helm of *Buſineſs*, and afterwards choſen by young *Galeacius*'s Mother, by reaſon of his known fidelity and experience in Publick Affairs, to contend with his *Maſter's Brethren*. He to preſerve the *Dukedom* for *Galeacious*, baniſhed *Galeacius*'s Brothers, and *Robert de St. Severin* out of *Milan*, with how much envy you may imagine: Yet ſee how wickedly he was afterwards deſerted, for the Widow,

Galeacius his Mother, reconciling her ſelf with her *Adverſaries*, ſacrificed *Simoneta* to their *new friendſhip*; by whom being caſt into *Priſon*, and there Flayed alive, he *died* miſerably. Learn hence, how *Warily* we muſt truſt *Princes*, of whoſe *Steadineſs* we are not aſſured; for often upon a light occaſion, they are wont to *Proſtitute* their *Servants* to the will of their *Enemies*.

CHAP. XV.

The Three other kinds of Noble Courtiers; How they are to be Dealt with.

THere are a ſecond kind of *Noble Courtiers* (as I ſaid before) who are in *Favour* with the *Prince*, and yet not very eminent in any *Dignity* or *Imployment*. Theſe though they can Contribute nothing elſe unto us, may *make our Way* unto the *King*, Seaſonable and Eaſie, beſides they may be uſeful in *Calling* to mind our *Deſerts*, or if occaſion require, in *Excuſing our Errors*; protecting us alſo from the *Calumny* and *Detractions* of our *Enemies*; by which means, if they be really our *Friends*, they may ſerve us *Highly*; as on the contrary ſide, if they be our *Foes*; they may *Prejudice* us exceedingly: Where-

fore

fore we muſt ſeek the *Friendſhip of theſe Men*, by all means, that are not *Unworthy* our condition; and we muſt conſider, that they ſeldom ſtay any long time about a *Prince*, unexalted to *Honour*: Nay, ſuppoſe that for ſome reaſon or other, they be not *Advanced*, yet by their *Help* and *Commendations*, they do *Advance their Friends*, and lift them up above others, though either *Equal* or *Superiour* to them in *Deſert*.

The third ſort of *Nobles*, are thoſe who are in great *Offices* of *Authority*, and have a great ſhare in *publick Buſineſs*, and yet have little intereſt in the *Prince*'s Favour. And theſe kind of men are chiefly found about ſuch *Princes*, who live quietly, attending to their *Pleaſures*, mindleſs of *Publick Buſineſs*; which they commit wholly to one or two of their *Tryed Servants*, abhorring the *Trouble* that is attending it themſelves. In ſuch a *Court* as this, we muſt rather ſeek the *Favour* of theſe *Miniſters*, than of the *Prince* himſelf; who ſince he truſts them with the *Adminiſtration* of his *Affairs*, leaves alſo the choice of his *Officers* to theſe men, being himſelf unfit to chuſe *Men for Duties*, which he knows nothing what belongs unto.

There are other *Princes* more *Jealous* of their *Majeſty*, and *Sparing* in their *Power*; who though they intruſt *one* or *two* with their *Affairs*, do ſeldom or never admit

thoſe men to their *Preſence* or *Converſation*, but when they are to treat of *Weighty Buſineſs*; and do not leave the *Diſpoſal of places* to them, for fear that by the multitude of *Creatures* and *Dependants*, their *Power* ſhould *Swell* to that height, that it cannot be *Abated*, if they *Tranſgreſs*. Wary *Princes* are wont to keep their *Miniſters* in awe, and make them believe, That they can in a *Moment* caſt them from all their *Authority*, and diveſt them of all that *Power*, that with the *Services* and *Labors* of many years, they have been *Acquiring* towards *Such perſons* as theſe; whoſe power is thus circumſcribed, you will have a *Hard Task*, how to *Demean* your ſelf. Their *Friendſhip* can *Avail* you little, nay perhaps if the *Prince* obſerve it, it will do you *Hurt*. Again, if they *Stand in your Light*, you will hardly come to the *Management* of *Affairs*, and yet you muſt of neceſſity run the hazard of *Claſhing* oftentimes with them. Wherefore, a moſt circumſpect *Gentleneſs of Nature* will here be needful, for you muſt *render them* all the *Duties* of *Reſpect*, and as occaſion preſents it ſelf (yet warily) expreſs the *Inward Devotion* of your mind unto them. But in the mean while, without openly *Seeking to*, or *Relying upon* the Patronage of any *other*, you muſt your ſelf, work out your *way* unto the *Prince's perſon*, and his *Favour*.

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There remains now unſpoke of onely the laſt kind of *Noblemen*, who are, in ſhort, *The Favorites*, as being *both Highly in the Prince's Favor*, and *Great in the Adminiſtration of Affairs*: Which kind of Men, are to be honoured with a *Reſpect almoſt Equal* to the *Prince himſelf*. Their *Wills* and *Inclinations* are to be *Pryed* into, as being more neceſſary to be *Known* and *Executed*, than the *Prince's* own. Here you ſee what you may expect, or hope for, from the *Authority* and *Patronage* of the *Peers*, and *Grandees* of the *Court*; and how you may uſe each of them in his ſeveral *Degree* and *Kind*.

Truly we muſt carefully take heed, that we ask nothing of either the *Prince*, or any of all theſe that is *Impoſſible*, or cannot be *Effected* without great *Abſurdity*; For nothing is more troubleſome to Humane Nature, than *not to be Able* to fulfil the *Requeſts* of thoſe we love; and ſurely, the *Friendlieſt* and *Gentleſt Diſpoſitions* that are, will be offended with an *Uncivil* and *Unreaſonable Suit*. Know moreover, that he from whom you have received ſuch a *Repulſe*, is not pleaſed with *Seeing you* again, for fear leſt with the *Impudence* of a like *Requeſt*, you ſhould make him *Aſhamed*; and alſo, leſt he ſhould ſeem to want *Authority*, or Means to *Perform* what you deſire. But you muſt note by the way, that *Acceſs* unto the *Great Ones*, is not ſudden-

ly obtained, we muſt by degrees alſo gain *That*; and to this end, *All* that have any *Intereſt in Them*, whether they be *Strangers* or *Domeſticks*, and the *Dependants* of theſe (according to their uſefulneſs) are to be *won* unto you.

CHAP. XVI.

The Meaner ſort of Courtiers, How they are to be Handled; as alſo ſuch as are Enemies to us, for the ſake of others, to whom we Relate.

THere are yet in *Courts* below theſe *Great Ones*, others of a *Lower ſtage*; ſome of which are our *Betters*, others our *Equals*, and ſome perhaps our *Inferiours*; all which, ſince we are to make uſe of, we will divide into *Two Kinds*: The *firſt*, of thoſe that may help and *Advantage* us; the *Second*, of thoſe that are likely, or able to *Hurt* us. The *Intereſt* and *Power* of *both* of them, is diligently to be weighed, to the end, we may gather what *Help* or *Impediment* we are to expect from them. We muſt conſider alſo, their *Friendſhips* and *Alliances*, to the end, that if neceſſity preſs us to ſeek their *Votes* for the promotion

promotion of our *Deſigns*, if they *Themſelves* are through *Envy* or any ſuch reſpect, backward or *Averſe* unto us, we may work upon them by their *Friends* and *Dependants*: But we muſt be ſure to take heed, that we do not then *begin* to ſeek their *Friendſhip*, when we have apparent need of them, or their *Aſſiſtance*, we ought to have it prepared long before, and aſſured unto us by the *Pledges* of a long profeſſed *Kindneſs*, and *Good will*. Let this ſuffice for the *firſt Sort*, (to wit, of thoſe that may help us) for every man's Induſtry will prompt him, *How to inſinuate with ſuch, as he finds may be uſeful unto him.*

Of the *Second Sort* (to wit) thoſe that may *Hurt* us, there are *Three Kinds*; either thoſe that are *our Enemies*, or thoſe that *Envy us*, or laſtly, thoſe that are *our Competitors*. Thoſe I call *Enemies* that hate us for our *Own*, or our *Friends Sake*; but this *latter* kind of *Hatred*, is not for the moſt part ſo inveterate and ſharp as the *firſt*; and it may be *Mitigated* much by our *Civilities* and *Profeſſing, That we can Love our Friends, notwithſtanding our Relations to their Enemies*: Yet the *Friendſhips* of the *Court* are for the moſt part *Factious* and *cruel*; compelling us to break off all *Friendſhip* and *Familiarities* that may bring us into ſuſpicion: For which reaſon, many *Publickly* pretending a friendſhip to

one

one, have notwithſtanding complied *Underhand*, and kept fair quarter with the *Adverſe Party*; not out of deſign to betray their Friend, but to the end, if he ſhould chance to fall, they may find a *Refuge* and *Support*. And truly, this care of our preſervation may be ſometimes *Blameleſs*, but all kind of *Treachery* is unworthy an *Honeſt Man*.

This kind of *Prudence* hath not onely been practiſed in the Brigues of the *Court*, but in Kingdoms alſo, and that very Fortunately. *Syenneſes*, Prefident of *Tharſus*, when the *War* broke out between *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*, Fearing to Reſiſt *Cyrus*, took his Part in *Perſon*, and ſent his *Son* to *Artaxerxes*, to the end, that if *Cyrus* were vanquiſhed, he might be a Refuge to his *Father*. *Bardus Durus* eſcaping out of the hands of the *Saracens*, where he was Priſoner; ſeeing *Phocas* created Emperor againſt *Baſilius*, applied himſelf to gain the Friendſhip of *Phocas*, hitherto his *Enemy*, and followed him; but cauſed his *Son*, with a contrived *Flight*, to take part with *Baſilius*, to the end, that if *Phocas* were vanquiſhed, he might Intercede for his *Father*, as it afterwards fell out. *Solon* made a *Law*, That in caſe of a *civil diſcord* in the Common-wealth, none ſhould be permitted to ſtand *neuter*; not intending, I believe, that *Friends* taking ſeveral ſides, ſhould break off their private *Friend-*

ſhips,

ſhips, but rather hoping that *Friends* being ſeverally engaged, could not but labor for the *Publick Peace*, by ſo much the more *Eagerly*, and with more *Succeſs*.

After this manner, in *Court*, a Man, tho of a different Faction, may yet *Diſcreetly*, and without prejudice to *Integrity*, retain his *Friendſhip* with a Man of another *Party*; to the end, That he may both have a *Retreat* in the change of *Fortune*, and that if their *Animoſities* ſhould begin to *Aſſwage*, he may be a fit *Inſtrument* of *Reconciliation* between the *Factions*: Which is the *ſafeſt* and moſt commendable way amongſt the *Strifes* and *Diſcords* of *Great Men*; and the means of gaining at laſt the *Favor* of *both the Contending Parties*.

CHAP. XVII.

How we are to Treat with thoſe Enemies that Hate us for our Own Sakes; Alſo Concerning Threats and Injuries.

THoſe who *Hate us* for our *Own ſakes*, do ſo either, becauſe *we* have *Offended Them*, or elſe (as it is frequent from *Great Men* towards their *Inferiors*) becauſe *They* have *Injured Us*; and the *Italian Proverb* ſays, *He that*

that Offends, never Forgives. It is a cuſtom amongſt Minds, Puſt up with a proſperous *Fortune*, to *Hate Thoſe* themſelves have *Wronged.* The *Injuries* that, *Theſe Kind of Men* do us, are beſt Remedied in our ſeeming *not to Underſtand them:* but if it chance, that the greatneſs of the *Wrong*, do *wreſt* out of us ſome Teſtimony of our ſenſe of the *Injury Received*, we muſt quickly after our grief is over, Seem to have *Loſt* the *Memory* of *All*; otherwiſe if they ſee us *ſtill Impatiently ſuffer it*, fearing our *Revenge*, they will ſeek to *Prevent* us with a greater *Miſchief.*

Chiefly we muſt beware of *Threats*, if we be *not Ready*, and ſure to *Execute* them; for *Threats* do both *Warn* our adverſary to *Beware*, and *Provoke his Hatred* to *Double our Injuries*; affording us nothing but *Shame*, in ſeeming to *Breath Revenge*; but to be *Deſtitute of Power.* I know this kind of Moderation will not be approved by all kind of men, eſpecially ſuch as are *Greedy* after *Vengeance*; who think no *Injury* is to be paſſed over without Reſentment, not only by reaſon of the *Sweetneſs* that is found in *Revenge*; but alſo, becauſe they ſay by ſuffering one *Injury*, you invite another; wherefore we muſt *Perſecute* thoſe that offend us with an *Immortal Hate:* But theſe men whilſt they deſire to *Render* themſelves *Formidable*, do effect nothing elſe but make all men flie their

their *Company*. For ſince we *Mortals* are *Creatures* prone to *Falls*, and *Slips*, and are carried away ſometimes with *Affection*, and at other times with *Paſſion*; and in conſideration, every one for *Fear of Offending*, will flie from theſe kind of *Malignant*, *Raſh*, and *Revengeful perſons*; and as *Wild beaſts* leave them to their own *Solitude*. Since, if any one Offends one of them, he muſt expect all that *Rage* and *Malice* can afford at his hands. Laſtly if any one *Provoke* one of the *Malicious Hot-ſpurs*, he expecting a *Severe Reſentment*, and fearing a *Home Revenge*, will ſtrive to be *Aforehand* with him.

For this Reaſon therefore, for the avoiding all *theſe Evils*, I think the contrary way is to be choſen, and *Gentleneſs* to be *Preferred* which truly, in the *Greateſt Injuries* is not hard to be *Perſonated*, when we conſider the *Reaſons* and *Conſequences* of a *Paſſionate Reſentment*, and the *Condition* of the perſons from whom we receive them. In *Lighter Injuries*, that we ſee ariſe rather out of *Paſſion*, than *Malice* or *Deſign*, we ought to be ſo little offended with them, that it may not be perceived we are *Senſible of them*. If the *Injury* is Great and Foul, we muſt not ſhow our ſelves wholly careleſs of our *Eſteem* and *Reputation*; yet without ſeeming too *Implacable* towards them that provoked us, as they may have Reaſon to think there is no *Hope of a Re-*

a Reconcilement, or place for *Pardon* upon any *Reasonable Satisfaction* left them. And therefore it will be pertinent in this case to *Complain unto his Friends* that hath injured us, of our *Wrongs*, and to make them *judge* of our *Difference*.

Injuries that are offered in *a Petulant Insulting Humor*, I think ought to be presently vindicated, not so much out of a *Desire of Revenge*, as for the *Chastisement* of him that did them; and to *Teach* him how to *Demean Himself* more Modestly hereafter, as well towards *Others*, as Our *Selves*. But these Injuries also are not to be Prosecuted with an *Inveterate Hatred*, nay, we ought to declare, that the *Necessity of Complaint*, and seeking Revenge *is Put upon us*, and that we are ready to be friends after a *Satisfaction* given us, that is any way *Compatible* with the *Injury* we received. And if so be they give any *Secret Testimonies* of *Regret*, or seek in the least manner unto us, we must *Return* into *Favor* with them, and by way of *Amends*, let this suffice *instead of a Submission*, That they profess, *They cannot want your Friendship*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Injuries of the More and Leſs Powerful, How to be Avoided, and Managed; the the ſeveral Artifices of Reconciliation.

BEcauſe theſe kinds of *Injuries* are done, for the moſt part, by *Thoſe* that are much *More Powerful* than *Our ſelves*, and who have ſome way or other, great advantage of us: The *Firſt way* to avoid them, is to *Treat* Theſe kind of men *Reſpectfully*, and to Avoid all *Freedoms* as much as may be with *Them*: Or if they be very *Croſs* and *Unruly*, to *Flie their Converſation* altogether. This ſaying of *Martial* is in this caſe very notable.

Wouldſt thou avoid what may Diſpleaſe?
Or ſeek'ſt thou for Content and Eaſe?
With no man be thou over Free;
As joys, ſo Griefs will Fewer be.

The *Second Way* will be, as I ſaid more than once before, to ſeem *Unſenſible* of the *Wrong*; for it is neither *Safe* nor *Prudent* for us, to ſtrive too much with One that is too *Powerful* for us; and the Inequality of our *Forces*, will be a juſt pretence to excuſe our *Diſſimulation*. I know there are ſome that are perſwaded, That if we can but *Fright*

our-

our Adverſaries, they would ſoon *ſeek unto us*, and deſire to be Reconciled; and I do not deny that there are ſome *Slie Diſpoſitions* that will *Deſcend* to do ſo; but believe me, it is always a *Dangerous. Unſound*, and *Faint* Reconciliation: And theſe will ſeldom or never omit (if an occaſion of *Injury* Preſent it ſelf) to give way to their *Diſpoſition*; which is by ſo much the more *Revengeful*, by how much their *Diſſembling* was the *Tamer*; beſides, a *Private Enemy* is harder to be *taken heed* of, than one that is *Publickly* ſo. It is better to have ſuch as theſe, our *Profeſſed Enemies*, than out of *Fear*, our *Reconciled friends*; yet I mean *Thoſe* who are not *Greater* than our *ſelves*, nor whoſe *Friendſhip* being loſt, can *Hurt us notably*.

For if we have to do with one that is much *Superior to us*, and whoſe *Enmities* will ſtand in our *Light*, it is better to have a *Feigned Friendſhip*, than open *Enmity* with him; though he *Offer us the Wrong*, yet we muſt endeavor by the *Mediation of Friends* to appeaſe him, as if *We had done the Injury*. To diſcern who is moſt able and likely to *Prejudice* us, we muſt conſider not only their *Power*, but alſo the nature of their *Malice* towards us; for ſome have a *Deſire of Revenge*, like a handmaid, always waiting upon their *Hate*; others a *Fear*, leſt that having got what we *Aſpire unto*, we ſhould be more

more able to hurt them. Though the *sting* of this *Revenge* is very *sharp*, yet the *Fear* I mentioned, is the most violent and frequent cause of our *Court Oppressions*, and far the most unavoidable. The *first* may be mitigated with the satisfaction of a Continued *Duty* and *Respect*; but you shall hardly ever perswade *Fear*, to put on the *Confidence* of *Friendship*, and *Good will* again; yet we must seek by all means possible to effect it: and *Occasion* will better instruct us *How to do it*, than any *Rule* can.

Agesilaus desiring to *become friends* with those that he had Offended, did put them into *Great Offices* and *Imployments*, which whilst they *Ill Administred*, bringing *Envy* (as is usual) upon them; being Accused, they were Compelled to have recourse unto the *Prince*; who delivering them from the *Danger* and *Infamy*, won them by the benefit, to be afterwards Sincerely and Heartily his *Friends*. It is an ordinary thing in *Courts* to *Supplant one Secretly*, to the end that being supported by *your Favour*, he may become your *Creature*. It is no less frequent as *Eutrapelus* Craftily practised in *Horace*, to lend those men money to feed their *Lusts* and *Vanities*, whom we desire to *Ruine*. So it proves, that for the most part, they who applaud us in our *Pleasures*, our humors, and *Expences*, and exhort us to undertake things

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that

that are *Unreaſonable*, and above our ſtrength, *do ſeek our Deſtruction.*

But let us now return unto the ways of *Renewing our Friendſhips* with our *Enemies.* Amongſt all which, it is none of the worſt to *Help* both with your *Counſel* and *Aſſiſtance*, the *Deſires* and *Endeavours* of your *Enemy*, in ſuch things as you ſee *by Succeeding will nothing Hinder, nor Prejudice you*; to the end, he may ſeem to owe you his *Love*, for your *Benefits.* In this manner Cardinal *Aſcanius Sforza* obſerving, That in vain he oppoſed himſelf to the practices of *Julian* the Cardinal, who laboured to advance *John*, the Nephew of *Alexander* the Sixth, to that Dignity; did ſo eagerly move in the buſineſs for *John*, that it ſucceeding, he got the ſtart of *Julian* in his *Friendſhip.* If the ſtubbornneſs of our *Enemy* be ſuch, as that all our *Endeavours* for a *Reconciliation* are *fruitleſs*; we muſt at laſt look out, if there be any body elſe that he hates or fears more than he doth us, and let us fain this man (if the circumſtances will bear it) to be a *Competitor* to *us*, and *him*; to the end, That his Hate towards the other prevailing, may induce him either to *Favour*, or *leſs Oppoſe us* in our *Deſigns.*

An *Artifice* not much unlike to this, was that which *Gerlachus* Achbiſhop and Elector of *Mintz* uſed, when he intended to create *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, his Kinſman, *Emperour*:

Emperour: He knew that thoſe *Princes* that ſtood for the *Empire*, (for which a *Governour* was now a chuſing) were *Divided* amongſt themſelves, which *Diſcords* and *Factions*, he to *make uſe of*, dealt thus with the *Electors* ſeverally apart. He tells *Wenceſlaus* King of *Bohemia*, That the *Votes* of the *Electors*, for the moſt part, would favour *Albert*, Duke of *Auſtria*, *Wenceſlaus* his Enemy: But if he were certain of *Wenceſlaus* his concurrence, he was ready to hinder it. Having thus won *Wenceſlaus*, he ſets upon the Duke of *Saxony*, and tells him, that his Enemy *Brunſwick* was like to carry it; and then aſſures the *Palatine*, That *Wenceſlaus* (at that time Hated by him) unleſs prevented, was like to *Defeat them all*. So promiſing to oppoſe *every mans* Enemies, he *Circumvented them all*; making by that means, his Kinſman *Emperour*, who if he had been *firſt Propounded*, had without doubt been *rejected* by the *Common Conſent* of all.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Envy, How it is to be Overcome.

NOw I muſt ſay ſomething of *Envy*, which is ſo *great an evil*, that we have need of a *Strange Felicity*, and *Fortitude* to over-

overcome it; which is not to be *Satiated* with any thing, but the *Participation* of that which it *Envies* in another; for every one eager after its own advantage, deſires to toyl in nothing but that, whence if not the *whole*, at leaſt a *Great ſhare* of the *Honor*, and Emolument will *redound unto Himſelf*. Yet although, I confeſs, it be very hard, yet this *Envy* is nevertheleſs with *Induſtry* and *Prudence*, to be Maſtered; and that not onely by this means alone, of *ſharing with them, That very Thing we ſeek for*: For ſometimes it will ſuffice to perſwade them that *Envy us*, That *the thing they deſire*, if it chance to light *upon us*, will turn much to their *Honor* and *Profit*. To which end we muſt *Court them* with *Friendſhip* and *Familiarity*; and though their *Envy to us* be very Palpable, yet muſt we expreſs on our parts great *Inclinations* and *Affections* towards them; profeſſing, that we wiſh nothing more, than that their deſires ſhould ſucceed, and that we deſire this very thing that we now purſue, for no other end ſo much, as that we may become capable to ſerve our *friends*, and *principally themſelves*. In ſhort we muſt act our part ſo, as from the Augmentation of our *Fortune*, they may conceive hope of Advancement to *their own*.

By thoſe that deſire to be *Free from Envy*, all *Pride*, *Over-ſumptuous manner of Living*, *unſeaſonable*

ſeaſonable Feaſts, and *Boaſting*, is *Sedulouſly* to be avoided; eſpecially, by thoſe who have riſen from a *mean Condition*; unleſs the Pleaſure of the *Prince*, or the Dignity of their *Office*, require it otherwiſe; for then a *Becoming Magnificence* will not be unfit, provided, That in theſe Expences, he lets the world ſee, he doth rather comply with the *Pleaſure of the Prince*, Then follow *his own Inclination*. With this kind of *Modeſty* and *Prudence*, the beginnings of Cardinal *Ximenes* were very *Fortunate*, and Notable; for he was born of ſo *Mean a Parentage*, that it was doubtful whether he were a *Gentleman*, or no; although his *Proſperous Fortune* found thoſe afterwards, that would undertake to prove his Nobility. This *Ximenes* whilſt the world went hard with him, became in his youth a *Friar*, whence ſoon after for his *Singular Endowments*, he was by the commendation of Cardinal *Mendoza*, made *Confeſſor* to *Iſabella*, Queen of *Caſtile*, and not long after Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, (as I ſaid once before) which Archbiſhoprick upon *Mendoza*'s death, Queen *Iſabella* having obtained of the *Pope* for *Ximenes*; he finding himſelf too *Weak* for the *Envy* it would draw upon him, refuſed to accept it; and was ſo *Stiff* in his *Refuſal*, that he ſcarce ſuffered himſelf to be *won to the acceptance of it*, by all the *Nobles of the Court*, who one by one,

at

at the *Queen*'s direction, prest him to Imbrace it: And having Accepted of it, he was fain to be so intreated over again, before he could be perswaded to live in a *Condition* and *Splendour* equal to his *Dignity*; nay, after that, he was *Personally* so *Observant* of his former manner of life, in this great *Fortune*, that no way else, but by the *Pope*'s Expres Command, could he be induced to change it.

This *Modesty* succeeded so well with him, that hereby he Appeased and Avoided that *Great Envy*, which must otherwise of Necessity have Oppressed him, being the *Possessor* of a Dignity *Gaped after*, by all the Grandees of *Spain*, and of *Revenue* scarce inferiour to those of the *Crown*.

But yet as this manner of Proceeding is in the Best of our *Fortunes*, an *Antidote against Envy*, so it little avails those who have once already carried themselves *Insolently* and *Proudly*; for the *Moderation* of these men is still looked upon as *Counterfeit*: Of which thing, the *Constantinopolitan History* affords us an example in a *Metropolitan*, called *Constantine*; who being banished from the Courts, both of *Isacius Angelus*, and *Alexius*, the Emperors, returned afterwards with the Empress *Euphrosine*; pretending a great aversion from *Business*, and a Courtiers *life*, to the end, he might be the more *Credited*, and sought unto the more eagerly, he took orders

orders upon him: In ſhort, he carried his buſineſs ſo craftily, That the *Emperour* himſelf cauſing him to be Abſolved from the *Oath of Prieſthood*, called him to *Court*, and truſted him with the management of his *Greateſt Affairs:* Who preſently, not content with his own *Advancement*, introduced his *two Brothers* to wait upon the *Emperor*; and as it were, to ſtand *Centinels* for him, if at any time his buſineſs called him away: But becauſe his *former Proſperity* had diſcovered the *Inſolence* of his *Nature*, every body *Feared him ſtill*, although he now made ſhow of *Great Temper* and *Moderation*, which was the cauſe that he was again *Supplanted* and removed from *Court*, without ever being *Reſtored more*.

CHAP. XX.

Of Emulation, the Siſter of Envy, and the Remedies of it.

THe ſame *Remedies* that are good againſt *Envy*, prevail alſo againſt *Emulation*, which hath *Leſs Malignity* in it truly, than *Envy* hath; but more of *Ambition*, and the Treachery of *Self-concernments*. But theſe *Competitors* of ours, are to be Stroked with a

a certain *Specious Reſpect*, and *Ceremonious Veneration*, which will Powerfully divert theſe kind of humors; eſpecially, *if* we *Feed their Hopes* with *Higher Things* than thoſe *We aim at*, and ſeem to *Contribute* our *Votes* and *Aſſiſtance* to them; on the other ſide, *Vilifying* that which we ſeek for, as *Below them* to ſtoop unto, and fitter for *Our ſelves*; whoſe *Merits* as they are *Leſs*, ſo our *Pretences* ought not to be ſo *High*. If we fear that they will ſmell our Drift, we are to hold them in *Suſpence*, and ſeem to *Diſcourſe the Caſe* with *Arguments on both ſides*; yet giving the *Greateſt Weight* to thoſe which we intend ſhould *Divert their Ambitions*. But the ſureſt and beſt courſe of all, is to *Conceal*, if it be poſſible, *what we Aim after*, till it be out of the power of our *Enemies*, or *Competitors to hinder us*.

A *Too Great Eagerneſs* in our *Pretences*, is ſometimes odious, even to thoſe that would if it were more modeſt, *Contribute their Aſſiſtance to us*; pulling with it beſides, other Greater inconveniences *upon us*, as if we ſucceed, *More Envy*, and if we fail, a *Greater Diſgrace*: It is much more ſafe, as I ſaid even now, to *Hide our Deſigns*, and as *Rowers* do, turn our *Backs* upon the place we are going unto. Thoſe that look after the greateſt *Commands*, have taken *This way*; nothing hath been more uſual unto them, than after the

the example of *Agamemnon* in *Euripides*, to expreſs a greater deſire of *Reſt* and *Retirement*, than of *Honor* or *Imployment*. And many have found this a ſingular Remedy, to divert the *Wiles* of thoſe that would *Oppoſe them*, and to eſcape the *Diſgrace* which attends thoſe *Fierce Pretenders*; nay they have had hereby the *Glory*, to have often thought, That this *Honor* or *Imployment* was caſt upon them, meerly for *their Merits*, and not obtained by *Begging* or *Bying of Voices*, as it too often falls out.

Laſt of all, in our *Pretences* we muſt take heed, that we *Claſh* with no *Rival*, that is greater or more powerful in *Friends* and *Dependants*, than our *ſelves*. In this caſe we muſt imitate *Marcus Lepidus*, a man in *Tacitus* his opinion, of *Great Wiſdom*; who being *Drawn*, as it were, into the *Senate* by *Tiberius*, to ſtand with *Junius Blæſus*, *Sejanus* his Uncle, whether of them ſhould be choſen *Proconſul* of *Africk*, pretended preſently againſt himſelf, *Want of Health*, the *Tender years* of moſt of his *Children*, and the *Marriage of a Daughter*, that he was to take care of; fearing doubtleſly to make *Sejanus* his *Enemy*, if he carried away the *Province* from *Blæſus*. Neither muſt we obſtinately contend with him, whom ſome great man is about to *Advance*, although the *Law* favour us againſt him; for without doubt, *Favour*

weighs down the Law, as *Tacitus* inſtances in *Germanicus* and *Druſus*, creating *Haterius Agrippa* Prætor, notwithſtanding the Expreſs contradiction of a *Law*; But let the *Hiſtorian* ſpeak himſelf. *There aroſe a diſpute of ſubſtituting a Prætor in the place of* Vipſanius Gallus *lately dead*; Germanicus *and* Druſus *favoured* Haterius Agrippa Germanicus *his Kinſman*; *others on the contrary ſide did contend, That the number of Children ſhould carry it, according to the Law.* Tiberius *was glad to ſee his Sons, and the Laws of the Senate, claſh together*; *without doubt the Law was overcome, but yet not eaſily, nor by many voices: By which means, when they were in their greateſt vigor, they were wont to be overborn.*

CHAP. XXI.

How to avoid a Treatning Ruine, and When it is upon us, how to make the beſt uſe of it: Example of the fall of Great men.

HIthetto we have obſerved the *Principal Precepts* that are to be obſerved by our *Courtier*; if any want, every *Rational mans* (for ſuch only we intend to inſtruct) *Prudence* and *Dexterity* will ſupply it. Now beeauſe

becauſe theſe kind of *Rules* are no leſs neceſſary, for the *Preſerving* our *Greatneſs* and *Fortune* in the *Court*, than for the *Gaining* of it; it will not be impertinent to have by us the examples of ſome of thoſe that have *Fallen from their Power* and *Greatneſs*, to the end, we may grow *Wiſe* by other men's *Miſchances*; and learn, if not to *Avoid a Ruine*, at leaſt to *Arm* and *Prepare our ſelves* for it; for this *Latter* is almoſt as neceſſary as the *Firſt*, ſince the endeavours of thoſe that ſeek to eſcape their *Approaching Misfortunes*, are for the moſt part *Vain*; whilſt he that *Prepares* himſelf for it *Long before*, makes that *Fall* (which few or none of them can *Avoid* that *Fortune* hath lifted up on high) to be much *More Gentle* and *Eaſie*, than otherwiſe it would.

Theſe *Falls* happen unto us, either through *our own Faults*, through *the Arts and Contrivance of our Enemies*, or through *the Perverſeneſs of the Prince's Nature*, or perhaps *his Death*. Since the lives of all men are obnoxious to *Faults*, and full of *Errors*, and *Failings*, it is ſo eſpecially with *thoſe that are on High*, who by reaſon of their *Greatneſs*, are out of the *Liſts of Reprehenſion*; all that are about them, being compelled to approve of *Whatever they Do*, be it well or ill. Amongſt all which *Faults*, the fouleſt they are incident unto, is, *A Treacherous Turning againſt*

their Prince, who is the Author of their *Dignity* and *Power*: A crime marked out with the *Blackeſt note of an Ungrateful and Faithleſs Soul*; and a moſt juſt ſubject of the *Prince*'s Hate and Indignation. All men that are in *Authority* ought to flie the very *Shadow of this Crime*, and to the end of taking all ground of *Suſpicion* from the *Prince*, to decline thoſe *Honors* and *Places*, that are opportune for *ſuch Attempts*.

Paterculus eſteems *Sejanus* to have been one of the wiſeſt *Courtiers* that ever was and truly it is likely, That *He* that flouriſhed ſo long in the *Favour* of a *Prince*, ſo Subtil and Diffident, as *Tiberius* was, did Comport himſelf with great *Modeſty* and *Warineſs*. *He was* (ſaith our Author) *in appearance given to eaſe; aſſuming nothing to himſelf, and by that means obtaining all things; Crouching ſtill willingly beneath the opinion of other men, and ſtriving to come behind them in repute; His countenance and his life, was Calm and Quiet, although his Mind was Reſtleſs, and ever awake*; yet *Ambition* at laſt tranſported this *Provident* and *Wary man* ſo far, as to aſpire to the Empire. To which end, *Druſus* being dead, he married *Livia* his Widow, that ſo being linked into the Houſe of the *Cæſars*, he might more eaſily compaſs his *Deſire*: And although he perceived out of *Tiberius* his Tergiverſations, when he demanded his conſent

conſent in the caſe, that it had drawn a *Suſpicion* upon him; yet did he not change his mind; but what he had failed of this way, he ſought to compaſs another.

He knew that *Tiberius* was grown weary of the *City*, whereupon he preſently Spurs him on, and perſwades him to Retire to *Caprea*; read *Tacitus*, Annal. 4. who ſays *That leſt he ſhould either infringe his Power or weaken his Authority, by debarring the Multitude from the Court, or miniſter matter of Slander, and ſuſpicion by Entertaining them, he took this Courſe: He perſwaded* Tiberius *to go live in ſome Pleaſant place, far from* Rome; *foreſeeing many conveniences in it. Firſt There could be no acceſs to the Prince but through him; then, That the Diſpoſal of all Letters would be in his hands, ſince the Soldiers, by whom they were to be Conveyed, would be at his Devotion; and laſtly, That* Cæſar *now growing old and waxing Effeminate with the privacy of the place would eaſily transfer the burthen of Affairs, and Government upon him,* and truly, his hopes deceived him not, for in a ſhort time, under Pretence of eaſing *Tiberius* his age, he drew all the power of the *Empire* into his own hands.

Yet at laſt, the event ſhowed, That this way of *Sejanus*, was both *Perilous* and *Tedious*; to mention which more accurately ſeems worth my labor here, to the end,

That both *Courtiers* may be more *Wary* in governing their *Fortune*, and *Princes* more *Cautious* in exal ing their *Minions*. *Tiberius* did either love or ſuffer patiently *Sejanus*, as long as he found *his help uſeful* to the Oppreſſion of *Agrippina*, and her *Children*, *Nero*, and *Druſus*; to which kind of Imployments, *Sejanus* ſhewed himſelf very Ready, knowing, That thereby he ſhould not onely win the *Favor* of the *Prince*, but alſo eſtabliſh his *own Power* and *Hopes*; there being none left of *Cæſar's* Houſe now, but *two youths*, whoſe tender Age, if they ſhould come to the *Government*, muſt needs leave the *Authority*, and ordering of *Affairs*, to him; until he ſaw his opportunity of Uſurping the *Empire* it ſelf.

But mark how *Raſh* and *Blind* Ambition makes us; He did not ſee, that the nearer he came to the *Top*, the more he became *Suſpected* of this jealous *Prince*; who now ſought all means of *Leſſening*, rather than *Advancing him*; that ſtrove as much on the other ſide to *Climb ſtill on*; For though he wanted nothing, but the Name of *Emperor* (which ſome did not ſtick to give him) and the *Tribunes power* (which the *Emperors* never intruſted to any) yet was he not Content, but daily Endeavoured to *Augment his Authority*. By which courſe, as he rendred himſelf *Venerable* to all others, ſo he made

made himſelf *Formidable* to *Tiberius*; For when he ſaw that *Sejanus* had not onely Won the *Prætorian Guards*, but alſo very many of the *Senators*, and principal *Families* of *Rome*, by either *Benefits* or *Hopes*, or *Fears*, unto himſelf; and likewiſe, That his *Secrecies* were by his own *Servants* told unto *Sejanus*, and not *Sejanus* his to him again; he determined his *Deſtruction*, as one that was become his *Rival:* But before he went about it, he thought fit to *Sound the Inclinations of thoſe about him*, to the end, That he might know how to *Chuſe out ſome* that would like of his *Deſign.*

Leſt that *Sejanus* ſhould ſmell out any change in *Cæſar's* affection towards him, he makes him *Conſul*, and calls him both *Preſent* and *Abſent* in his *Letters* to the *Senate*, and the *People*, his *Friend*, and *Companion* of his *Labors.* Laſtly, he feigns himſelf *Sick*, to diſcover thereby, the affections both of *Sejanus*, and ſeveral others. Sometimes he Writes to the *Senate* of his Recovering condition, and that he would ſhortly come to Town; ſometimes Praiſing, ſometimes Blaming *Sejanus*; ſometimes Receiving thoſe that came Recommended by him, and at other times Refuſing others; that thus he might keep him ſuſpended between *Hope* and *Fear*, who, whether truſting to his *Favor* with the *Prince*, or for Fear of loſing of

his *Hopes*, Reſolved to attempt nothing by *Force*; hoping, that the Diſguſts of the *Prince*, if there were any, would wear out with time. In this interim, *Others* who had hitherto Fawned upon *Sejanus* his *Fortune*, not upon *Himſelf*, ſeeing *Tiberius* ſtagger, began to carry themſelves more *Warily*, and the *Devotion* of many towards *Sejanus*, grew Cold.

Tiberius having diſcovered long ago the *Pride* and *Inſolency* of *Sejanus*, and fearing withal, leſt provoked by Contempt, he ſhould Run ſome *Deſperate Courſe*, Cauſed it to be given out, That he intended to Confer the *Tribunical Power* upon *Sejanus*; and preſently after, Commands him to be laid in *Priſon*, writing Letters, to that end, to the *Senate*, which were carried by *Macro*, Captain of the Guards: Who coming to *Rome*, firſt communicated the *Prince*'s pleaſure to *Memmius Regulus*, then Conſul (for the other Conſul was more addicted to *Sejanus*) and then to *Græcinus Laco*, Captain of the Watch, it being not yet break of day. Thence going to the *Senate-houſe*, he met *Sejanus*, who ſtartled to ſee him, demanded if he had brought him any Letters from *Tiberius*, he whiſpered in his ear, That he ſhould anon be ſaluted *Tribune*; whereupon, he entring the *Senate-houſe*, not without an inward joy, *Macro* commanded the Pre-

torian

torian Guards to go home, shewing them to that end, a Warrant from the *Emperor*, in which also, he promised them a *Largess*. The *Pretorian Soldiers* being departed, and *Laco*'s Company placed there in their Room, *Macro* enters the *Senate*, and delivers his Letters; Immediately going forth, without expecting the Reading of them, to bid *Laco* stand well upon his Guard, lest *Sejanus* raising a Tumult in the *Senate*, should break away; and went thence himself to the *Pretorian Guards*, to hinder them, lest they should attempt any thing.

The *Letters* that were then a Reading, were spun out into a Great length, to the end, That *Macro* might have Time enough to order his business; and truly they were interwoven with a wonderful *Contrivance*. In the beginning there was no mention of *Business*, nor any thing concerning *Sejanus*; a *little after* he was touched upon, as they say, with a *Gentle hand*; then some other things interlaced, there followed a *More Open*, but that also a *slight Accusation* against him: At last, after sundry Excursions about the *Affairs* of the *Common-wealth*, two of *Sejanus* his *Favorites* were named, and the *Senate* commanded to *Proceed against them*; and withal, that *Sejanus* himself should be *Secured*. All mention of his *Death* being purposely left out, to the end, That *Hope* might

might be left to the Accuſed, of Clearing himſelf of thoſe *Crimes*, and thoſe but *Light ones*, that were there objected againſt him.

The *Letters* being read, many that had *Waited* upon him into the *Senate*, ſeeing things of another *nature* in hand, than making *Sejanus Tribune*, roſe up and compaſſed him in, leſt he ſhould Eſcape; which it is believed, that he would at leaſt have *Attempted to do*, if in the beginning, the *Emperor's* Letters had thundered any thing ſharply *Againſt him*. But he then deſpiſing thoſe *Slight Touches*, ſate ſtill in his place; and being called upon, either two or three times, by the Conſul *Memmius* to riſe up, with much ado he Obeyed at laſt, as being accuſtomed *to Give, and not to Receive Commands*. When he was riſen, *Laco* followed him Cloſe at the heels, and after him came *Regulus*, accompanied with other *Senators*, who led him from the *Senate* to the *Priſon*; and thence, ſoon after, to *Execution* at the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, where he was put to Death.

Behold here the ruine of a great *Courtier*, and a *Favorite*, who for *Craft* and *Power* had ſcarce ever his equal. The Contrivance of whoſe Fall, though it may ſeem due to *Tiberius* his *Prudence*, yet it is rather to be attributed to *his own Greatneſs* and *Proſperity*, which ruined it ſelf with *its own Weight*, ſo evidently, That all thoſe *Sleights* and *Stratagems*

gems of *Tiberius*, were not very needful; as may be gathered out of the example of *Perennius*, who aſpiring to the ſame *Height* that *Sejanus* did, and by the ſame *Arts*, was Subverted by *Commodus*, a *Prince* of a judgment far inferior to *Tiberius*. It may well be, that many will not be moved with theſe *Examples*, becauſe they will ſeem to be *Wiſer than others*, and to know ſomething more than *theſe did*, whoſe *Misfortunes* are here recounted. I will not move them to *Paſſion*, with telling them what I think; although truly, I will not deny, but in thoſe latter Ages, there have been ſome, whoſe *Projects* ſucceeded leſs unhappily, as *Boylas*, whoſe ſtory we read in the *Hiſtory* of *Conſtantinople*; who being Caught in a *Conſpiracy* againſt *Conſtantinus Monomachus*, then *Emperor*, did not undergo ſo heavy a Puniſhment as for ſuch *Crimes* is wont to be inflicted, the reaſon being, becauſe he had the *Luck* to Tranſgreſs againſt a *Mild* and *Gentle Prince*.

It will not be amiſs to recite the *Story* briefly here, to the end, you may ſee how the *Secreteſt Counſels*, and Undiſcoverable by the eyes of Man, are oftentimes *Diſcovered by the Divine Providence*, after an *unlookt for Manner*; not being able to eſcape Puniſhment, by whatſoever *Caution* they are managed. No Mortal Man would have believed, that this

this *Boylas* ſhould have any *Inclination to*, or could have any *Ground for*, ſo great a *Villainy*. The greatneſs of the *Favors*, which were *Heaped upon him*, had poſſeſſed the good *Prince* with a great *Hope* and *Opinion* of his *Singular Fidelity*, who ſeemed alſo by nature unapt for *Great Undertakings*: He was not onely of *very Mean Birth*; but alſo *Stammered* ſo much, as he could hardly be underſtood; which *Stuttering*, ſince he ſaw it pleaſing to the *Emperor*, he did afterwards *Affect* on purpoſe: With this *Aſſentation* and *Flattery*, he ſo Inſinuated himſelf into the *Prince's* Familiarity, That the *Bed-chamber*, and *Cabinet* of *Conſtantine*, were always opened unto him: At laſt, being Inriched by the *Prince*, he was choſen into the number of the *Senators*, and begins to caſt his thoughts *Higher*; wherein he went ſo far, that he determined by the Murther of the *Prince*, to make his Own Way to the *Scepter*. This deſign he firſt opened to thoſe he knew ſurely hated the *Emperor*, promiſing Mountains to ſuch as Approved it, and Offered him their Aſſiſtance; and *Praiſing Greatly* thoſe that *Diſliked it*, and Refuſed it, out of their *Affection* and *Loyalty* towards the *Prince*, as whoſe *Spie*, he would ſeem to propound *Such things*, to diſcover the *Inclinations of his Subjects*.

By which means he was undeſcryed by all,

all, but ſuch, whoſe *Fellowſhip in the Treaſon*, make him *ſecure of them*; and had, at laſt, Effected that *Abominable Act*, if at the very time, when he had the *Weapon in his Hand*, which he had prepared for the *Emperor's* Throat; one of the *Conſpirators*, touched with a ſudden Remorſe of Conſcience, had not ſeaſonably *Diſcloſed*, and diſcreetly *Prevented it*. The *Emperor* took the Injury ſo patiently, That having Condemned ſome of the *Conſpirators* to die, he was ſatisfied in inflicting *Baniſhment* onely on the *Author of the Treaſon*.

It were too long to recount all thoſe here, who having undertaken ſuch *Treaſons*, were caught in them, or elſe, though *Innocent*, were falſly believed to be *Guilty* of ſome ſuch *deſign*, and made Shipwrack in *Court*. But contenting our ſelves with what we have already ſaid, this onely is to be added, That all *Pride*, whether through *Ambition*, *Bragging*, *Reproaches*, *Detraction*, *Oſtentation*, or other Pompous manner of living, it diſpleaſe the *Prince*, is the *high Rode to Ruine*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Boaſting, Preſumption, Arrogance, too much Familiarity, Pride, and Perfidy, noted with Examples.

THis *Boaſting* and *Recounting of ſervices paſt*, deſtroyed *Philotas* and *Clytas* in the *Court* of the Great *Alexander*; and *Craterus* himſelf had like to have been overborn with thoſe *Winds*: Certainly, he had been much more acceptable to the *Prince*, if he had contained himſelf within the bounds of a *Generous Modeſty*; So *Cajus Silius* with *Tiberius*; *Antonius Primus* with *Veſpaſian*; and *Sillas* with King *Agrippa*, by *Boaſting* of their *Services*, deprived themſelves of all the *Fruit of them*; as *Tacitus* witneſſes of the two firſt, *Annal.* 4. and *Hiſt.* 4. and *Joſephus* of the laſt. *Princes* do believe their *Fortunes* and *Favors* loſt, and caſt away upon theſe *Braggadocio's*, for they will have their *Subjects* ſeem to owe all they have to *Them*, and their *Bounty*; not to their own *Vertue*, and *Merits*.

The liberty of Reprehending the *actions* of *Princes*, or *Inveighing* againſt others in their *Preſence*, is to be carefully avoided, as bordering upon *Arrogance*, and *Preſumption*. *Eumenes* complaining before *Alexander*, ſomething

ſomething Petulantly, That *Hephæſtion* ſhould Aſſign the Soldiers Quarters to *Muſicians*, *Comedians*, and ſuch kind of people, incurred the diſpleaſure of the *King*.

To treat with the *Prince over famil arly*, or to ſeem to make ones ſelf the *Sole Arbiter* of his *Principal Cares*, ſavours of *Pride*, although it may proceed onely out of *Vanity* and *Covetouſneſs*; as it appeareth in the example of *Zotirus*, once the *Favourite* of *Heliogabalus*; and alſo of *Turinus*, who ſcarce worſe than *Zotirus*, yet more unhappy, was commanded to be ſtifled to death with ſmoke, by *Alexander* the ſon of *Mammea*; the Executioner crying out, *Let him Periſh with ſmoke, who Sold ſmoke.* He was wont to brag, That the *Prince* was governed by his *Advices*; and ſo by Intruding upon the *Princes* Retirements, and with Impertinent *Senceleſs Whiſpers in Publique*, pretending to *Favour*, was ſought unto by very many and gathered together great *Riches*, through the *Tribes*, and *Preſents* of Thoſe, to whom all his *Intereſt* in the *Prince*, could not avail a *ſtraw*.

The *Arrogance* of *Plancianus* is alſo worthy of Memory, which being accompanied with great *Vanity*, broke out at laſt into open *Perfidy*: His Arrogance was ſuch, That he did not ſtick to contend with *Baſſianus*, the *Emperors* Son; who was Author both

of

of his *Dignity*, and *Fortune*; and he was withal ſo *Vain*, that as he paſſed through the *City*, he would not only *Interdict* all Acceſs unto him, but alſo would not ſuffer them to *Behold him*; his Uſhers going before ſtill to *Clear the ſtreets*, of all that they could ſee. Becoming a *Traytor* at laſt againſt his *Prince*, and convicted of his *Treaſon*, he was Beheaded. In *France*, during the time of *Philip le Bell*, *Enguarrandus Marigny*, daring to conteſt perſonally with *Charles de Valoy*, what Miſery he did pull upon himſelf, and his friends, may be obſerved in the *French Hiſtories*.

Above all things, we muſt take heed, That we give not our ſelves in *Court*, to ſowing of *Strife* between *Princes*, and Great men; for they becoming friends, do for the moſt part *Sacrifice* ſuch unto their *Friendſhip*; of which, though the ſtories of all Nations are full, yet the *Bavarian Hiſtory* furniſhes us with one Example very memorable, of *Otho Crondoſerus*, who flouriſhing with *Rodulphus* the *Palatine* in ſingular favour, was the Author of *Great Enmities* between the *Prince* and his *Mother*, for a time; but the *Mother* afterwards reconcling her ſelf unto her ſon *Crondoſerus* had his Eyes and Tongue pull'd out.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

How we muſt, not only Take Care to Preſerve the Prince's Favour, but alſo That of Thoſe in Power about him.

IT is not enough that the *Princes* themſelves be not *Averſe* unto us, but we muſt alſo keep our ſelves *Aright* with thoſe that are in *Favour with them. Germanicus* at his death, gave that advice to *Agrippina* his Wife, of which *Tacitus*, Annal. 2 ſpeaks thus. *Then turning to his Wife, he intreated her by his Memory, and for their Children ſake, which were common to them both, That ſhe would pull down her ſtomach, and ſubmit her Great heart to the rage of Fortune; leſt returning to the City, ſhe ſhould with Emulation of her Greatneſs, ſtir up againſt her, perſons more powerful than her ſelf*; *Agrippina*'s neglect of this *Document*, Ruined her and her children. I told you before, how much *Eumenes* his favour was diminiſhed with *Alexander*; after that, railing againſt *Hephæſtion*, he carried himſelf irreverently towards the *Prince*; and diſcovered his *Spleen* and *Envy* to him that he accuſed.

Wherefore, when we ſee any one in the *Prince*'s favour, we muſt carefully weigh his *Authority*, and compare it, as it were, in a

balance

Balance againſt our own; that we may know certainly which weighs down the other: And in the tryal of this, we are not ſo much to obſerve *Outward Appearances*, as the circumſtances of *Inward Cauſes*. *Craterus* and *Hephæſtion*, for a time did flouriſh both of them, in *Great* and *Equal Favour* with *Alexander*; until *Alexander* himſelf determined the buſineſs, in calling one of them, The *Kings* friend, and the other, *Alexander's* friends.

Out of which deciſion *Craterus* might have made this judgment, That ſince *Princes*, for the moſt part, are more in love with their *Own Wills*, than their *Authority*; they alſo are held *More Dear* unto them, who rather adore and worſhip *Alexander*, that is their *Perſon*, than their *Fortune* and *Kingly Dignity*: And though that afterward upon a ſtrife that aroſe between *Him* and *Hephæſtion*, when all the Court was divided into *Factions*, *Alexander* ſeemed to incline to neither ſide; but chiding them both heavily threatned puniſhment, if ever they ſhould *Harp upon that ſtring again*; yet his manner of dealing with them, ſhewed rather his *Singular Prudence*, to be imitated by all *Princes*, than his *Equal Affection* to them both. He apprehended, that this Diſcord might produce *Great Tumults*, and *Miſchief*; For he knew both *Craterus* his great intereſt

in

in the *Macedonians*, and how much *Hephæſtion* was Envied for his favour to him. Therefore to diminiſh *Hephæſtion's* Envy, he reprehended him publickly; and to avoid giving offence to the *Macedonians*, he Reproved *Craterus* in private.

Amongſt thoſe that in this tryal and examen of the *Prince's* favour, between *themſelves* and *others*, were out of *negligence* and in *diſcretion*, moſt groſly Miſtaken: *Antonius Primus* ought to have the firſt place, who daring to contend with *Mutianus*, learnt at laſt, That he had better have conteſted with *Veſpaſian* himſelf. And in this manner, you will find it is a thing witneſſed by the *examples* of all Courts, *To vindicate more ſharply an injury againſt the Favourites, than againſt the Prince himſelf.* Dio tells us the reaſon of it, when he had recounted how the ſame thing happened to *Sejanus*, thus, *As thoſe whom vertue and conſciouſneſs of their own Deſerts, hath lifted up to Dignities, do not much ſtick upon the vain Ceremonies, and outward Circumſtances of Honor: So on the contrary ſide, thoſe who ſeek to climb by Ambition, Pride, and Vice, thereby to hide their unworthineſs, and meanneſs, do preſently take ill, and underſtand as a contempt, the leaſt neglect of Ceremony, and reſpect towards them.* Inſomuch, that it is harder to preſerve the *friendſhip* of theſe men, than of the *Prince* himſelf,

himſelf, for he thinks it a *Glorious* and *Princely* Act to forgive *Injuries:* When theſe, leſt they ſhould ſeem to *Remit* that which they cannot *Revenge*, even to oſtentation, do uſe their *Borrowed Power*, in perſecuting thoſe that have offended them.

CHAP. XXIV.

Pride even in the Meaneſt Perſons at Court, noted with Examples; as alſo Treachery in Betraying the Prince's Secrets.

NEither truly hath it been *Deſtruction* to *Great Ones* only, to have carried themſelves *Inſolently* and *Amiſs*, but alſo to Men of the *Lower Stage*. *John* King of *Arragon*, loved *Alvarez de Luna* ſo much, that he Truſted him with all his *Affairs*, and even his *Kingly Power* it ſelf, notwithſtanding the Repining of all his *Nobles*. But when he by reaſon of his proſperous Fortune, fell into that *Pride* and *Preſumption*. That he cauſed a *Nobleman*, who in the *King's name* admoniſhed him of his *Duty*, to be *Precipitated* and *Murthered*; he was by the *King's* command beheaded. It is alſo an ordinary cauſe of *Shipwrack* in *Court*, when any one hath rendred, either himſelf,

or

or the *Prince*, Hateful to the *Peers*, or *People*; For, either the *Prince* is fain of his own accord, to caſt ſuch a one off, to Rid himſelf of *Envy*, or elſe others never leave, till they have *Overthrown him*. During the Reign of *Commodus*, *Cleander* once armed the *Pretorian Guards* againſt the *Roman* People; which was a ground of ſo great tumults in *Rome*, that unleſs the *Emperor* had Sacrifiecd *Cleander* to the Peoples Fury, he himſelf could not have been *Secure*.

The ſame *Commodus*, had Rendred himſelf Odious to all Men, by his Affection to one *Anterus*; from which envy, that they might Free their *Maſter*, ſome of *Commodus* his Servants being very deſirous, ſlew this *Anterus* as he was coming from *Court*. *Eutropius*, who had been long dear to *Arcadius* the *Emperor*, ſince he was believed to be the Author of the *Sedition* raiſed by *Tribigildus*, was given up, as a Price of the *Peace*, by the *Prince*, to the *Enemies*.

Amongſt the Evils that ſubvert Courtiers, there are *two* remaining yet, as very dangerous, ſo very frequent; *A betraying of the Prince's Secrets*, and *Conſpiracy with his Enemies*. Crimes, for the moſt part, ariſing out of *Perfidy*, but many times alſo out of *Levity*, and *Indiſcretion* onely. And foraſmuch as concerns the *Secrets of Princes*, I think they do very well, *who Pry not into them*; and who,

who, if their *Office exact it not at their hands* avoid the *bare knowledge* of them: For if you be the *Onely perſon*, to whom they are imparted, and *Fame* (which often makes *witty Conjectures*) chance to ſcatter any thing like unto them, you cannot avoid the ſuſpicion, that the *Secret* came out by you: And although the *Prince* perhaps hath imparted it to ſome *one elſe*, yet it may fall out ſo, that he hath forgot; or elſe, that he is more Confident of the *other mans ſilence*, and ſo the foil remain upon you ſtill.

Not without cauſe, did *Philippides* the *Comick Poet*, when he was asked by King *Lyſimachus* (to whom he was very dear) of what things he did chiefly deſire to be made partaker by his *Prince*, anſwer, That he would refuſe nothing that came from the *Prince*, his *Secrets* onely excepted; from which he deſired to be Excuſed. Let uslearn from the example of this man, as much as we can, and eſteem it ſafer to be Ignorant of *Secrets*, ſo difficult and dangerous to be kept, than to Know them. *Hiero*, Tyrant of *Syracuſa*, was wont to ſay, That thoſe who diſcover *Princes* ſecrets, do wrong both *to Themſelves*, and *to Thoſe they Impart them unto* by expoſing them alſo together with themſelves, to the hatred of the *Prince*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

The Causes, Kinds, and Examples of Conspiracies with the Prince's Enemies.

YEt their Condition is, of all other, most Hazardous and Tickliſh, who led either by *Avarice*, *Ambition*, or *Deſire of Providing for their own Security*, do *Conſpire* with the *Prince's* Enemies; whether they be either *Strangers* or *Domeſticks*. Cardinal *Balæus*, a Taylor's ſon, being by *Lewis* the Eleventh, made his *Treaſurer*, and afterward a *Biſhop*, at laſt alſo by the *King's interceſſion*, and the *Pope's willingneſs*, to oblige one that had been ſo *ſharp an Adverſary* unto him was promoted to the Dignity of *Cardinal*: But afterwards being Convicted of a Conſpiracy with the *King's Enemies*, he was ſent to the Tower of *Loches*, where he dwelt twelve years until *Sixtus Quintus* by great Intreaties, and much Ado, procured his *Releaſe*. For the like crime, the Cardinal of *Prata* underwent the like puniſhment, in the Reign of *Francis* the Fifth; and had never, perhaps, got his *Liberty*, had he not deceived his *Phyſicians* with an opinion of the *Strangury*, *by drinking his Urine*: When the *King* fearing the anger of the *Pope*, if conſumed with

that diſeaſe, a *Cardinal* ſhould die in *Priſon*, Diſmiſt him. *Petrus de Vineis*, a chief Counſellour of the Emperour, *Frederick* the Second, being Suſpected of Intelligence with Pope *Alexander* third, the *Emperour's* Enemy, loſt his Eyes.

Not only deſigns of *Uſurping the Empire of the Eaſt*, but alſo *Private Intercourſe* betwixt him and *Alaricus*, King of the *Goths*, are believed to have cauſed *Stilico's* death: Which that ſhameful Peace he made with the ſame *Alaricus*, againſt the will of the *Senate*, ſeems to confirm; *Lampadius* (who always diſclaimed it) calling it *not a Peace, but a Contract of ſlavery*; whereby the *Emperour* was obliged to pay Tribute to *Barbarians*.

CHAP. XXVI.

That our Courtier muſt not be the Author of Hazardous Counſels; the Variety of Errors, whereby the Prince's Favour is loſt.

THe *Courtier* that we are all this while a forming, muſt chiefly beware, That he never be the *Author of Hazardous Counſels*; for the *Ill Succeſs* of theſe, is always wont

wont to be imputed to the *Unfortunate Adviſer*, and the *Good* unto the *Fortune of the Prince*: not onely by the *Vulgar*, who judge all things by the *Event*, but alſo by the *Prince* himſelf; who is *Always Glad* to have ſome one, *upon Whom to Derive the Envy of an Unluckie Undertaking*, and ſcarce ever willingly that any one *ſhould ſhare with Him in the Glory of a Proſperous Action*. A good while before and after *Stilico's* death, the Argument of the *Publique Complaint*, was his *Unſeemly Peace* with the *Goths*; until at laſt, *Olympius* who had procured his ruine, ſeeking fame from contrary courſes, *broke the Truce*, *Alaricus* in vain, Pleading the injuſtice of the deed; But afterwards having made War for ſome time, *ſtill with ill Succeſs*, this very Man was, in the opinion of the people, eſteemed, *The Author of all their Evils*; And at laſt, being accuſed by the *Eunuchs*, who were in great favour with the *Emperor*, he was fain to leave the *Court*, and flie into *Dalmatia*.

When either the beginning of a *War*, or breaking of a *Peace*, is Treated of; the part of a wiſe Counſellor is to bring Arguments for *Both Sides*, and leave the *Prince* at Liberty to make Choice of *What Likes him beſt*. And if he be Preſt to deliver his Opinion, it will be the Safer Courſe to *Incline to* Peace; unleſs *Invincible Neceſſity*, or *an Apparent Advantage*,

perſwade the Contrary: Which Courſe was Prudently taken by *Jovius*, the Succeſſor of that *Olympius*, we lately mentioned.

He, though he was more Inclined to *War*, that ſo himſelf might be more Neceſſary to the *Emperor*; yet after the manner of ſome *Stateſmen*, ſeemed to preferr a *Love to Peace*, having met with *Alaricus* at *Ariminum*, whither he was ſent to *Conferr with him*; he ſends the Conditions that *Alaricus* propounded to *Honorius*; perſwading him in other Letters apart, That he ſhould offer the command of his Armies to *Alaricus*, to make him more Reaſonable in *Other Things*. The *Emperor* denying, That it was not Safe for him to commit the *ſtrength* of his *Empire* to a ſtranger, that had been hitherto his *Enemy*, anſwered, That he had rather conſent to pay him *Tribute*.

When *Jovius* had read theſe Letters to *Alaricus*, he Angry to ſee himſelf, and his Friendſhip Rejected by *Honorius*, broke off the *Treaty of Peace*, and *Jovius* returns to *Honorius*; who being much Offended with the *Inſolence of his Enemy*, Swore, *He would never have any peace with* Alaricus; and gave the ſame *Oath* to all his *Courtiers* and *Commanders*. Thus *Jovius* by the ſame Art, removed from himſelf, the envy of the *Broken Truce*, and Endearing himſelf to *Alaricus*, by the Teſtimony of his good-will, in adviſing

adviſing *Cæſar* to give him the Command of his Armies, engaged *Honorius* in a *War*; whereby the Power and Authority of *Jovius* was wonderfully eſtabliſhed. There is in Story ſo great variety of *thoſe Errors*, by the means of which *Courtiers* have faln from their *Prince*'s Favour, that no man's diligence can reckon them all up ſo; but when he hath Recounted many, he ſhall find ſtill More behind. Wherefore, having here cull'd out ſome of the *Principal*, we leave the reſt to the *Induſtry* and *Diſcretion* of every *Obſerving Reader*.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Arts whereby Courtiers are Supplanted by others; and Firſt under Pretence of Specious Imployments Abroad, or of Calling Them from their Commands, to Attend upon the King's Perſon.

WE have ſeen already, How by *His own Fault*, a *Courtier* may loſe the *Prince*'s Favour; let us now ſhow the Means whereby *his Enemies* are wont to *Supplant Him*; which are of three Sorts. Either they

will Endeavour *to Remove him from the Court under an Honorable* Pretence; or else they will *Render him Suspected, and Hateful to the Prince*; or lastly, will by Open Force *Compel the Prince to Remove him.*

Of the first kind of these three; as there are *Divers Ways*, so the *Ends are Divers.* For some are with *Shows of Honor*, or with the desire of *Living amongst their Friends*, willingly perswaded to *Depart the Court.* Which Course, during the Reign of *Manuel Comnenus*, *Styppiota* craftily used, to Remove out of his way *Hagiotheodorita* that stood in his Light: For there arising a Controversie between *Michael Pædagogus*, and *Joseph Balsamon*, *Styppiota* perswaded the Emperor, That if *Hagiotheodorita* were made Governor of *Peloponnesus*, it would put an End to the contention of these *Great Ones. Hagiotheodorita* out of desire of assisting his *Kinsman*, undertakes the *Imployment*; not Dreaming that *Styppiota* having got his *Rival* out of the way, would by this means come to the *Sole Management* of *Affairs*, as indeed it fell out.

Some men also *Tired out* with the *Brawls* and *Strifes* of their *Enemies* in *Court*, to provide for their *Own Quiet*, do Easily Embrace any *Plausible Imployment* for a *Pretence* of their *Departure.* As *Agrippa* did, who, *Velleius* testifies, went into *Asia*, under the Colour of a

Great

Great Imployment, onely to withdraw himself from *Court*; where he had *Private Grudges* and *Heart-burnings* against *Marcellus*, as the report goes.

Tiberius, whilst *Caius Cæsar* lived, Retired to *Rhodes*, upon pretence of following his *studies*, and by his *Mother*'s means (they are *Suetonius* his words) *to Hide the Disgrace of it, Obtained to be sent, as it were, Ambassador from* Augustus. If there want a *Pretext*, whereby he whom you desire to *Remove*, may voluntarily seek leave to go, and esteem it for a *Benefit*; the *Prince* must be perswaded to give him some Charge, *by reason it can be Executed by none, so well as He*: So also, if there be any man *Great* and *Powerful* in any of the *Provinces abroad*, and have *Emulators* that seek to *Eclipse him*; they must labour to call him thence to *Court*, as necessary to the *Prince*'s person; that so being *Crouded up* amongst the *Courtiers*, his Lustre may be *Obscured*.

This art used *Apelles* in *Polybius*, when he stript *Taurion* of the Government of *Peloponnesus*. So *Darius* by the advice of *Megabyzus*, recalled *Hystæus* out of *Ionia*; not, that he had any need of his *Presence*, as he pretended, but to *Weaken his Authority*. If these *Courtiers* would rest contented with Removing others *out of their way*, for their *Own Advancement*, and Proceed no further,

in compariſon of many *Worſe*, theſe *Arts* and *Practices* would be ſomething Tolerable; but the Moſt of them reſt not here: In the Reign of *Conſtantius*, *Sylvanus*, General of the Foot (as *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us) by *Arbetio* his Procurement, was ſent into *France* to chaſtiſe the *Barbarians* for the injuries they offered to the *Gauls*; whither he being once come, and Growing into Favour with the *Nation*, and alſo Rich; the envy of *Arbetio* wrought at laſt his *Utter Deſtruction* with the *Emperor*.

Almoſt the ſame Fortune under this very *Emperor* had *Urſicinus*, the General of the Horſe: *Euſebius*, the *Eunuch*, had together with ſome other *Courtiers*, Conſpired his Ruine; and by theſe mens Means, to the end he might be far enough from *Court*, he was ſent upon ſome Expedition to the Confines of *Perſia*; where having ſtaid ten years, *Sabinianus* was ſent to ſucceed him, neither in *Judgment* nor *Experience*, equal to the charge: Whereupon, preſently a Rumor being ſpred, That the *Perſians* were preparing for a *War*, he was commanded to ſtay there ſtill, though the *Power* was already given to another. *Euſebius* Contriving it ſo on purpoſe, to the end, That whatſoever *Good Succeſs* hapned againſt the *Perſians*, might be Attributed to *Sabinianus*; and what ever *Fell out Amiſs*, might be Imputed

to

to *Ursicinus*, as the event witnessed; for *Ursicinus* cast down for another Man's Faults, Retired, and past the rest of his life in Private. The Reign of this *Emperor* doth furnish us yet with another Example; For *Ruffinus*, the Uncle of *Gallus*, Captain of the Guard, was sent to Appease a *Mutiny* of the Soldiers, out of no other Intention, but that he might *Perish in the Rage of the Tumult*: As *Clytus* did complain, That he was sent by *Alexander* against the *Sogdians*, to no other End.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How Calumnies are used to Make Men Suspected, or Hated by the Prince.

THus much for the *First way*, whereby *Courtiers* are by their Enemies *Supplanted*, and stript of the *Prince*'s Favor. Now let us come to the *Second*, which are, The *Calumnies* that are used to Render us *Hated* and *Suspected* by the *Prince*: In *Calumny*, two things are to be Observed; the first is, *Whether it be sufficient to Deprive him of the Prince's Favor?* the second is, *Whether it be Probable?* Of the first, We must make our judgment out of the *Present State of Things*,

out of the *Humor and Inclination of the Prince*, and out of the *Nature of the Calumny intended*. No kind of *Slander* doth ſubvert more *Great Men*, than that which Accuſes us of Conſpiracy againſt the *Prince's* Perſon, or his *Empire*, or elſe of *Contempt*, or *Diſdaining* to Obey, with *Detraction*, and *Deriſion* towards the *Prince*.

Theſe *Calumnies* are Rendred likely to be True, not onely by the *Words* and *Actions* of thoſe that are *Accuſed*, and of their *Servants*, *Friends*, and *Kindred*, but alſo by Contrived *Letters*, and the *Diſpoſition of the Prince*; too Apt to believe the *Calumny*, or too Prone to *think Ill of the Perſon Accuſed*, eſpecially, if he were ever ſuſpected before. Theſe things which are by *Calumny* converted into a *Crime*, he that is Traduced, either *Did*, or *ſaid* of his *Own Accord*, or elſe was *Traced into them* by the ſleights of his *Enemies*, and *Competitors*: The knowledge and practice of which *Malice*, whets the wits of thoſe who will *Curiouſly Watch their Occaſions*, and know dexterouſly *How to uſe them*.

There are ſome Men that will put *Projects* into our heads, to the end, That if we imbrace them, they may make theſe very things, a Subject of *Calumny* againſt us, and accuſe us to the *Prince* of ſome *Wicked Intention*. There was a certain *Magician*, called *Santabarinus*, very much beloved by *Baſilius*, Em-

Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, but as much hated by *Leo*, the Emperor's Son; who this *Magician* deſiring to *Overthrow*, did ſo beſiege him with *Counterfeited Duties*, and *Feigned Reſpects*, that at laſt winning upon him, he grew into credit with the young *Prince*: Then having got an *Authority* and *Intereſt* in him, he takes his time, and warns *Leo*, with great Art and Solicitude, That whenſoever he went a Hunting with his *Father*, he ſhould carry a *Poignard* under his Garments, to Defend himſelf withal: He obeying this Advice, the *Magician* goes to his *Father*, Informing him, That his *Son* intended to *murther him*, and for a Teſtimony, told him, That he always carried a *Dagger* hidden about him, waiting for an Occaſion of Performing it. In ſhort, the buſineſs came to that paſs, the young *Prince* was Searched, and the *Poignard* found, whereupon he was caſt into Priſon; and though he were protected by the joynt interceſſion of all the *Court*, yet he hardly Eſcaped with his Life.

Whilſt *Valentinian* was Emperor, *Ætius* accuſed Earl *Boniface*, who was very dear unto *Valentinian*, and Governor of *Africa*, unto *Placidia*, the Emperors Mother, of Treachery towards the *Prince*, and of a Deſign he had of Subjecting *Africk* to himſelf; perſwading her withal, That he ſhould

be

be *Recalled* quickly. At the ſame time he warns *Boniface* by his Letters, That he was Accuſed at *Court*, and for that reaſon *Recalled*; wherefore he ſhould take heed how he Returned, if he loved his own Safety. *Boniface* giving credit unto him, obeyed him ſo far, That (reſolving to oppoſe thoſe that would come to reduce him) he called in *Gontarus*, King of *Valladolid*, and *Genſericus* his Son, then Reigning in *Spain*, unto his aid; who, upon this occaſion, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Mauritania*. The *Deceipt* being afterwards found out, to the end the Truth might appear more plainly, they were permitted the *Tryal* of a *Combat*, wherein *Ætius* being vanquiſhed, was Baniſhed the *Court*.

Not unlike unto this was the Craft of *Samona*, beloved by *Leo*, Son to the Emperor *Baſilius* (by reaſon of his Detection of the Treaſon of *Baſilius*, Kinſman to the Empreſs *Zoa*) who Reſolving to Ruine *Andronicus*, that was General againſt the *Saracens*, Cauſed him to be Warned by a Friend, that he ſhould take heed of *Hymerius*, who came to *Deprive him of his Eyes*; which was in thoſe days a Puniſhment *Uſual towards Great Perſons*, whoſe power was Overgrown, and become Formidable: *Andronicus* believing this to be true, which was Feigned by *Samona*, withdraws himſelf from *Hymerius*,

merius, unto a place of ſtrength, which he ſeized upon. This fact of his, *Samona* did not omit to Exaggerate unto the *Emperor*, inſomuch, that by his Procurement, an Army was ſent againſt him, which forced *Andronicus*, driven to Deſpair, to Quit the limits of the Empire, and Flie unto the *Saracens*. A little before, we mentioned *Arbetio*, and it will be worth obſerving, how he added *Deceit* upon *Deceit*: When he obſerved the *Emperor* Angry with *Sylvanus*, and Feared, that he ſhould come to *Rome* to Clear himſelf of the *Objected Crimes*; he gives the *Emperor* his Letters, wherein he called *Sylvanus*, to his *Preſence*, to an Inſtrument of his own, called *Apodemius*; who arriving in *France*, ſuppreſſed the Letters as he was directed, and tells *Sylvanus*, That *Nothing but Deſtruction Hung over him*; whereby *Sylvanus* Running into *Rebellion*, as the onely Means of his *Preſervation*, made good *Arbetio* his Calumnies.

But we have too long been ſilent concerning *Sejanus* (to whom being Expert in all theſe *Tricks*) this *Artifice* we now treat of was very *Uſual*. That he might render *Agrippina* ſuſpected to *Tiberius*, He Inveigled her Friends to *Puff up her Haughty Spirit*; and her *own Kindred were Inticed* to Feed the *Swelling Hopes* of *Agrippina*, with Crooked and Perverſe Diſcourſes; whilſt in the interim, he cauſes

cauſes *Claudia Pulchra*, *Agrippina's* Couſin-Germain, to be Accuſed by *Domitius Afer*; which Injury, this *Fierce* and *Paſſionate Woman*, Complaining of Heavily to *Tiberius*. did thereby Exceedingly Encreaſe the *Suſpicions* of this jealous *Emperor*. Yet *Sejanus* not content with this, but ſeeking the *Utter Ruine* of this *Unwary*, and *Sorrowful Lady*, ſent thoſe unto her, who, under a Shadow of Friendſhip, ſhould warn her, That *Tiberius* meant to Poyſon her, and that ſhe ſhould Beware of his *Feaſts*; whereupon ſhe over-*Credulous*, Refuſed to take an Apple out of *Tiberius* his hand at Table, which grievouſly Incenſed *Cæſar* againſt her, By the ſame *Sejanus* now, when Soldiers were ſet to watch over *Agrippina* and her *Children*, were Men Suborned to Adviſe her, *to Fly to the German Army*, or to *run to the Image of* Auguſtus *for Sanctuary*; and there to Invoke the help of the *Senate* and the *People*.

With the ſame *Ugly Arts*, whereby he endeavoured to ſupplant this *Lady*, by making her ſuſpected of *Tiberius*, he Utterly Overthrew her Friend *Titius Sabinus*; which thing, as it is deſcribed by *Tacitus*, you may read here in his own words, becauſe the Circumſtances are very Notable, *Annal.* 4.

"*Junius Silanus* and *Silius Nerva*, being "Conſuls, the year had a foul beginning; "for *Titius Sabinus*, an honourable Gentleman

"of

" of *Rome*, was caſt into Priſon onely for
" his Friendſhip to *Germanicus*, which was
" ſuch, That he never omitted any occaſion
" of honouring or ſerving his Wife and
" Children; Of all *Germanicus* his Follow-
" ers, being the onely Man which Viſited
" them at their houſe, and Accompanied
" them abroad; wherefore as he was much
" praiſed by the Good, ſo was he much ma-
" liced by the Bad: Againſt him, *Latinius*
" *Latiani*, *Porcius Cato*, *Petilius Rufus*, and
" *Marcus Opſius*, who had ſometime been
" Conſuls, bent their Spight, through a de-
" ſire of the Conſulſhip, which they could
" not obtain, but by *Sejanus* his means, and
" *Sejanus* his liberty could not be purcha-
" ſed, but by ſome notable piece of Villainy.
" Wherefore they plotted amongſt them,
" That *Latiani*, who was ſomewhat a-kin
" to *Sabinus*, ſhould lay the ſnare, and
" that the reſt being privately witneſſes
" to what paſt, they might begin their Ac-
" cuſation.

" Hereupon *Latiani* began at firſt to caſt
" Speeches out at Random, and to Extol *Sa-*
" *binus* his Conſtancy, that he did not as o-
" thers did, Fawn in Proſperity, and Shrink
" from a houſe in Adverſity; with other Ho-
" norable mention of *Germanicus*, bewayling
" *Agrippina*'s eſtate. And ſeeing *Sabinus*
" (as Mens Minds are ſoft and tender in
" Calamity) to pour down Tears, and

" Com-

" complaints; *Latiani* began more boldly to " touch *Sejanus*'s Cruelty, Pride, and Ambi- " tion, not forbearing to reproach *Tiberius*; " These seeming dangerous Speeches, and " such as durst not be avouched, made a " strict friendship in shew between them: " So far, that *Sabinus* often frequented *La-* " *tiani*'s house, and as unto his Faithful " Friend uttered his Griefs unto him. Those " I mentioned before, now began to devise " with *Latiani*, how these Speeches might " be heard by them all: For the place of " Meeting, must be, in appearance, private; " and if they should stand behind the door, " they did apprehend some noise, or other " accident of suspicion might discover them; " wherefore, between the Cieling and the " Roof, the Three Senators (in a place no " less Unseemly, than the Treachery was " detestable) hid themselves, laying their " ears close to the Holes and Chinks, to Li- " sten what was said.

" In the mean time, *Latiani* having found " *Sabinus* in the Market-place (as if he had " some New Matter to tell him) inticeth " him home into his Chamber, beginning " there to rip up things past and pre- " sent in a great abundance; and to " load him with new Fears. *Sabinus* " was not behind hand with him, the " nature of griefs being such, that " when once we enter into them, we

" can

"can hardly make an end. This done, they "began immediately their accusation, and "writ unto *Cæsar* the whole contrivance "of their own Lewd and Shameful Act. "The City was never in Greater Perplex-"ity, and fear than at that time, Every "man estranging himself from his neares "Kindred, and acquaintance; avoiding "all Meetings and Conferences as well "with their Friends, as Strangers; yea "they grew jealous of mute, and sense "less things, Prying into the Roofs and "Walls of their houses. But *Tiberius* Re-"questing in his Letters that the Solem-"nities of the new year might be Cele-"brated on the *Calends of January*, falls "at last upon *Sabinus*, Charging him that "he had corrupted some of his Freed-men "to Attempt something against his Person, "and therefore boldly demandeth a Re-"venge, which without delay was grant-"ed.

"*Sabinus* being Condemned, was drawn "and haled away with his Garments over "his head, so that he being almost Throtled "was heard to cry out: *Is this the beginnings "of the new year? be these the sacrifices slain "in* Sejanus *his honor?* Which way soever "he did cast his Eyes they all fled that he "directed his speech unto; the places of "Assembly and the Streets were Empty, "some came running back and showed them-

"selves

" selves again Afraid for that they were seen " to be Afraid. And what days think you " now were Exempt from Executions, if " amongst the sacrifices, and the vows, when " the custom was to abstain from profane " speeches, Fetters and Manacles were " mentioned. It is believed *Tiberius* could " not be ignorant of the Envy he should in- " cur for doing so, but that he did it on " purpose, to the end the new Magistrates " might open the prisons, when they set o- " pen their Temples and their Altars. For " after that he sent Letters of thanks, for " that they had punished an Enemy to the " State.

CHAP. XXIX.

Examples of other Treacheries in Suborned Witnesses, and Forged Letters.

I Cannot avoid bringing here *another Example* out of the same *Historian.* Firmius Cato, *a* Senator, *and one of* Libo's *inward friends induced this simple young man, easily led to vanities, to give credit to the* Chaldeans *Promises, the Magicians Ceremony, and the Interpretation of Dreams, vainly putting him in mind that* Pompey *was his Great Grandfather,* Scribonia *who had been* Augustus *his Wife, his Aunt:*

Aunt; *The* Cæſars *his Couſin Germains*; *and that his houſe was full of the Statues and Monuments of his Anceſtors: He inticed him to Licentiouſneſs, to Borrow Money, making himſelf a Companion of his Luſts, and Familiarities, the better to Intangle him and Convince with many evidences. That there might be witneſſes enough, he alſo Debauched ſuch of his Servants as knew any thing of the Matter. Then he deſires Acceſs to the* Prince, *and by means of* Flaccus Veſcularius, *a Gentleman of* Rome, *one of* Tiberius *his Familiars, he Diſcovered both the Matter and the Man.* How after this *Libo* was treated by *Tiberius* and made much of, until Accuſations were brought againſt him in ſuch abundance, that he was forced *to Kill Himſelf*; *Tacitus* Annal. 2. will tell you at large, to whom I had rather Refer you, than Exceed the bounds I had propoſed to my ſelf in *this Treatiſe.*

Styppiota, whoſe Deceipt in ſupplanting *Haglotheodorita*, I told you of before, could not avoid being Circumvented Himſelf, as *Sabinus the Roman* was; the Contriver of that Plot was *Camaterus Logotheta*, who being an Enemy to *Styppiota*, Accuſed him before the *Emperor* as an *Impoſtor*, and one that intended to *Betray Sicily*. And to the end he might give ſome face of Truth to his Calumny, he hides the *Emperour* in his Chamber, and in his hearing begins on purpoſe to diſcourſe

of

of the *Affairs of Sicily.* At which time many things fell from the *heedless Styppiota* that were very displeasing unto *Cæsar*; not content with this, *Camaterus* causes *Counterfeit Letters* to be mingled amongst *Styppiota's Papers*, which being searcht by the *Emperor's Order*, were the cause of *Styppiota's* Condemnation, and the Loss of his Eyes.

This *Story* leads me to speak of another means of Rendring Slanders probable, to wit, by *Counterfeiting Letters*; *A Deceit* indeed that for the most part breaks out at last to the prejudice of him that uses it, but nevertheless is of great Power to make deep impressions of suspicion in the *Prince's* Mind, and to Alienate *his Favour*: Which being once observed *by the Accused*, will either induce him to *Withdraw himself willingly* from *Business*, and the *Court*, least something worse should follow; or else cast him upon such Attempts and Practices, as will *Confirm the Slander.* Which appears by that example of *Sylvanus* I mentioned before.

The perfidy of *False Witnesses* is no slender confirmation of *Slanders*, and this is cheifly necessary against such as are Accused of *Treason*, and *Capital Crimes*; And truly *Domestick Servants* as most proper, so oftnest are made use of in this nature. In the *Reign of Arcadius*, *Eutropius* seeking the destruction of *Timasius*, a *great Captain*, and a man

man of much Authority; Corrupts his *Friend* or rather his Inseparable *Companion Bargus* to Accuse him of Affecting the *Empire*. The Friendship between *Bargus* and *Timasius* gave Credit to the *Accuser*, all men believing, that he would not unless the *Crim* was most Certain, Accuse him; To this *Counterfeit Letters* were added, to prove the Treason, by which means the *Innocent Man* and *his Son* were sent into Banishment, to the *Isle of Oasis*, from whence *neither of them* ever Returned.

Caius Petronius was for his skill in Pleasures preferr'd before *Tigellinus* by *Nero*, whereupon the other out of Envy, Accused *his Rival of Scævinus his friendship*, (who was convicted of a *Conspiracy* against *Nero*) and brought to witness it a *Servant of Petronius* Corrupted by him.

CHAP. XXX.

Confirmation of Slanders under the Colour of a Feigned Friendship; and the Inclinations of the Prince *the* Accuser.

I Said before that to *Confirm Calumnies*, the Affection of the *Prince to the Slanderer* did much

much Conduce, and for this Reason did *Sejanus*, endeavouring to make the *Empress Livia* jealous of *Agrippina*, *Germanicus his Widow*, choose *Julius Posthumus* to do it; *who* as *Tacitus* affirms, *by Reason of his Adulteries with* Mutilia Prisca, *the Empresses favourite, was very Gracious with* Livia. But Calumnies never succeed so easily, as when they are used against One already Suspected by the *Prince:* For it is very Probable, That then the Accuser shall not onely Ruine the other, but also Exalt Himself. The Familiars of *Vitellius* durst not Set upon *Junius Blæsus*, Till they Observed him to grow less in *Vitellius* his Favour, and they compassed their desires much sooner, because *Lucius Vitellius*, the Emperor's Brother, lent them his assistance.

Gracchus, a freed man of *Cæsar's*, and one as *Tacitus* saith, *Annal.* 13. *All his life bread up in, and by a long Experience, well Practised in the Princes house*, thought it the best way to preserve himself in the favour of the *Prince*, to Accuse *Cornelius Sylla*, whom *Nero* he knew was *jealous* of already. The same art did *Tigellinus* use against this *Sylla*, and *Plautus* afterwards, of which *Tacitus*, *Annal.* 14. writes thus. *But* Tigellinus's *credit increased daily, who thinking that his lewd practices, wherein he was a great proficient should be more acceptable, if he could engage the* Prince

Prince into the Communion of his Villainies, began diligently to Pry into all his Fears, and perceiving that Plautus *and* Sylla *were above others Suſpected:* Plautus *being baniſhed into* Aſia, *and* Sylla *into* France, *he entreth into diſcourſe of their Nobility, and how one was too near the Army of the* Eaſt, *and the other to that of* Germany: *That* Sylla *was poor and needy, only Counterfeiting a Lazineſs; and* Plautus *Abounding in Wealth, did not ſo much as Pretend a deſire of a Quiet life.*

I told you above of *Urſicinus* accuſed by *Euſebius* the *Eunuch*, to the Emperour *Conſtantius*, who was already *Shie* towards him, by reaſon of his kindred to *Gallus*; but I did not ſet down the *Succeſs* of the *Cauſe*, which was thus. The *Accuſation Faultring.* becauſe the Arguments whereby the Crime was to be proved, *were Slender*; the *Eunuch* intending a new Miſchief, cauſes the Accuſed to be Inlarged: And things ſtanding in this poſture undecided, he doth ſtrive to indear *Urſicinus* to himſelf, whom he would ſeem to have delivered from the *Danger of a Tryal*; but withal, *removes him from the Court* (where all his *Thoughts* were placed) notwithſtanding this face of Friendſhip he put on, perſwading the *Emperour* underhand againſt him.

CHAP.

CAAP. XXXI.

The Chief Arts and Ways of Slanderers.

WHen any one is Accused to have spoke Ill of the *Prince*, how much the nearer these Reproaches come to Truth, by so much the Easilier is the Accusation credited; as appears in the example of *Granius Marcellus*, of whom *Tacitus*, Annal. 1. *Whom* Cœpio Crispinus *accused to have Reviled* Tiberius, *which was an Inevitable Accusation, for he having chosen out the greatest blemishes of* Tiberius *his life, did impose them on the accused; which because they were True, were believed to have been spoken.* This example have many *Slanderers* followed, Reproaching many *Princes* of their Vices, under Pretence of Informing them of *other mens Detractions*; which one would think should be a sufficient Reason to perswade them from giving ear to these *Calumniators*.

And *Tiberius* truly, who though he was a *lover of Informations*, yet he Hated his own *Reproaches*; and therefore least he should hear them in the *Senate* where they were occasionally brought in by way of *Accusing Others*, retired to *Caprea*, *Believing* (as *Tacitus* avers) *that he ought to Avoid the Assemblies of the Senate, least he should be Compelled to hear*

hear Reproachful, but yet true things, uttered o himſelf in his own hearing.

This way alſo do ſome take *only to Reprove Princes for their vices*; as they that would reprove *Nero* for his *Mother's* Murder, did uſe to inveigh againſt others for the like *Acts* in his hearing; yet more with a deſign to *correct the fault* in *Cæſar*, than to ruine *thoſe that they accuſe.* Theſe are the *Choiceſt Ways* that *Slander takes*, but who will undertake to *Trace her* in all *her Turnings? For Calumny is a Monſter that hath a Thouſand ſhapes, and a Thouſand ſleights to do Miſchief with.*

CHAP. XXXII.

The Deceits and Danger of Court-praiſes, and Maſqued Courtiers. Laſtly, The Third way of Oppreſſing our Courtier by Force.

FRom *Slanders*, let us come to *Praiſes*, of which alſo as we have *Hinted before*, there is great uſe in *Undermining* others; for many men do by this means, *Palliate Secret Hate, Envy*, and *Emulation*, to the end, they may *Deceive more Eaſily.* So *Fabius Valens* with *Secret Criminations*, Defamed *Martius Valens* that ſuſpected no ſuch thing from *Him*; who

to betray him *more securely*, did always *speak well of him in Publick*, Tacitus *Hist.* 1. So *Arbetio* with the *Blandishments* of a *Great Kindness*, did assault *Ursicinus*, and frequently call him in publick, *A Valiant Gallant person*, thereby Craftily to *Intangle* in more *Deadly snares*, that *Harmless*, *and Well-meaning man*. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Lib. 15.

Alphonsus, King of *Arragon*, as one was Praising another man Unreasonably in his presence, beyond his wont, Turning about to a friend said, *Without doubt this Fellow seeks the Destruction of him he Praises:* Neither was the King deceived in his opinion, for six months after, this *Intemperate Praiser*, accused before the *Seat of Justice*, him that he had so *Highly Extolled*; and had *undone him*, had not the *King* interposed for his preservation.

Mucianus having in the *Senate* heaped many Praises upon *Antonius Primus*, whom he could not openly oppress; loads him also with *Secret Promises*, and Points him out the further *Spain*, left void for him by the decease of *Cluvius Rufus*, giving to his Friends and Followers, several Commands in the Army. And afterward, when he had filled him with *Ambition*, and *Desire*, he suddenly *Undermines his Power* by taking from him the *Seventh Legion*, which was exceedingly devoted to *Anthony*.

Neither

Neither is this way *Traced by Courtiers only*, but alſo by *Princes themſelves*, when they deſire to Abate or Take down any Body. For *Tiberius* did thus confer the *Prætorſhip* upon, and invite to his Table, *Libo*, (whom he Secretly Suſpected and Hated) without change of *Countenance* or ſhowing *Anger* in his words, till he ſaw his time (he had ſo Concealed his Indignation) as *Tacitus* tells you, Annal. 2. By the ſame *Artifice*, you ſaw he *Overthrew Sejanus*: *Domitian* was never more to be feared, than when he *Smiled*; the *Praiſes* of *Andronicus* were the beginning of *Injuries*. *Nicetas* called his *Liberality*, An Earneſt of the *Confiſcation of that man's Goods*, and his *Lenity* a fore-runner of a *Certain Death*.

Yet there are ſome that ſeek by their *Applauſes* only, to ſtir up the *Prince's* Envy towards them they Praiſe, for ſo *Tacitus* tells, *Julius Agricola* was Ruined with *Domitian*. *The cauſe of his Deſtruction was no Crime nor Complaint againſt him, but the Prince's Envy to the Vertues and Glory of the man, Stirred up by the worſt kind of Enemies, Unſeaſonable and Treacherous Praiſers.* There is extant, a ſaying of the Emperour *Julian*, That there are no more dangerous Enemies in the world, than *Maſked Courtiers*; whom *Mammertinus* deſcribes in a *Panegyrick*, ſaying, *That with a Crafty Artifice they did in all company, Slander*

Men by way of Praises, and under the Titles of Friendship.

But we see that some have used these *Praises* towards *one*, with an Intention of Reproaching *Another*; whom they desired to Affront with the Dissimilitude of his *Merit*: *Plutarch* accuses *Herodotus* with this spightful kind of dealing in his commendations of the *Athenians*, for the brave repulse they gave the *Persians*, which saith he, was not intended so much for the *Athenians* honor, as the Shame and Disgrace of the other *Greeks*. *Seneca* attests, that *Kings* are wont to praise their *Dead Servants*, to make those *Blush* that are *Alive*: So did *Augustus* Extol the faithful services of *Mæcenas*, and *Agrippa* when his *Daughters Lusts* being discovered; he seeking thereby to Reprove his *Familiars* and *Servants*, as Negligent and Careless of the *Honor* and *Service* of their *Prince*.

The same was *Augustus* his end in Praising and Dispraising of *Tiberius*, of whom *Tacitus* writes thus; Augustus *when a few years before he demanded the Tribunitial power in the Senate for* Tiberius, *although he did in his Speech Touch upon many things of his behaviour, his habit, and manner of living; which, as it were by way of Excuse he did Reproach him with, &c.* Therefore these things ought to warn us to look as well into the Intention of those that *Praise us*, as of those that *Calumniate* us.

These

Theſe two firſt ways of Undermining our *Countier*, to wit, *Of Removing him out of the way*, under ſome *Fair Pretence*; or of making him *Hated*, or *Suſpected by the Prince*; being ſufficiently diſcourſed of, there remains onely untouched, the *Third* and *Laſt way of all*, *Open Violence*; which principally takes place, when either the People or the Soldiery offended with the *Dignity* or *Manner of the Favourite*, run into a *Publick Sedition*. The Tumults of the *Pariſians*, when the people raged at the *Captivity of their King* John, with the *Engliſh*, are ſufficiently known; as alſo the fortune of thoſe, upon that ſedition, who bore the *Principal offices* under his Son, then ſupplying his Father's place in the *Government*.

But few years ſince, the *Janizaries*, more than once, have by Sedition deprived the *Turkiſh Emperors* of their *Miniſters of Greateſt Truſt* and *Authority*: Out of more ancient ſtories, the time of *Arcadius* will furniſh us with ſome examples; *Ruffinus* was amongſt others, principally beloved by this *Emperor* with whom *Stilico* being Offended, and determining his *Deſtruction*, ſent *Gainas* with his forces, as it were, to Aſſiſt the *Emperor*, but indeed to deprive him of *Ruffinus*, as it came to paſs: For *Ruffinus* going to the Army, the Soldiers of *Gainas* upon the Signal given, *Ran together*, and com-

paſſing *Ruffinus* in, Tore him in pieces.

Eutropius being then put in *Ruffinus* his place, when the chief *Courtiers* likewiſe grew diſcontented with him, by the contrivance of the ſame *Gainas*, *Tribigildus* raiſes a Rebellion, overrunning and ſpoiling all *Aſia*, and denies to accept any Conditions of a peace, till *Eutropius* were removed *out of the way*; which by the perſwaſion of *Gainas*, the *Emperour* conſented at laſt unto: Neither was this enough, for *Gainas* being afterward openly joyned with *Tribigildus*, to the end he might ſuffer himſelf to be Reconciled to *Arcadius* the Emperour, demanded, That *Aurelius Saturnius*, and *John Chryſoſtome*, then the Chief *Moderators* of the *Emperour*'s Affairs, ſhould be given up to him; which being done, he ſent them into baniſhment, contenting himſelf with giving them (before their departure out of his preſence) the *Edge of his Sword for to handle*; that they might feel how *ſharp it was*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Sometimes the Prince's own Ill and Cruel Nature, Envying the Deſerts of his Servants, is Cauſe of the Courtiers Fall; and This, How it is to be Handled.

OFtentimes, although our *Courtiers* Underprop themſelves with *all Other Supports*, yet the *Nature of the* Prince, as being either *Over Light, Vain, Jealous, Envious, Covetous, Cruel*, or *Timorous*, makes their *Ruine* inevitable. Theſe Diſeaſes as being Incorporated into them, do for the moſt part *Elude*, and *Overgrow* the Circumſpection of the *Prudenteſt Men*. *Seneca*, whoſe authority had with *Nero* far more of *Liberty*, than *Flattery*, in the beginning, being *Wiſe and Skilful in the Arts of Court*, was fain to yield at laſt, as quite Overcome by the *Malice of the* Prince's *Nature*: Firſt, he was *Envied* by him for his *Eloquence*, then for his *Riches*, and laſtly, being oppreſt with Malicious Slanders, he loſt both the Prince's Favor, and his Life.

The *Jealouſie and Envy of* Princes, hath been ſo formidable to ſome, that they had rather be *Leſſened* to their *Loſs*, than incur their *Envy* by doing their buſineſs *Proſperouſly* and well. *Publius Ventidius* fearing

the Envy of *Mark Anthony*, under whom he ſerved, Contented himſelf to have beaten the *Parthians* by Three Victories into *Media*, and would not proſecute his *Good Fortune* any farther. *Agathias* tells us, that during the Reign of *Juſtinian*, the ſame was done by *Beliſarius*; leaſt the Greatneſs of his Victories, and the Acclamations of the People, ſhould ſtir up the *Hate* of the *Peers*, and *Envy* of the *Prince* againſt him.

Truly ſuch as theſe do not Mind their own Honor, and the Profit of the *Prince*, as they ought to do; but the fault is not ſo much in them, as in the *Prince* himſelf; And therefore it was, that *Macenas* perſwaded *Auguſtus*, *not to Impute his Ill Succeſſes to his Miniſters, nor Envy their Proſperous Actions. For* (ſaith he) *many of them that Manage Publick Affairs, have done it very Negligently, for fear of Envy chooſing rather to hazard their Glory, than their Safety.* Yet I do much more Approve their way, who to avoid *Envy*, what ever Great and Fortunate Actions they did, would needs *Aſcribe the Glory of it to the* Prince, though *abſent*. *Agrippa*, *Auguſtus* his Son in Law, perſwades us to *Undertake Great Adventures*; but having performed them to *Attribute the Glory of it to the* Prince, as he himſelf was always wont to do.

So *Joab* beſieging *Rabatham*, though he could, Refuſed to take it in, before *David* himſelf

himself came thither. *Craterus*, when the busines of *Artacena* was to be Determined, waits for *Alexander's* coming; *Julius Agricola* (as *Tacitus* Writes) *never did Boastingly Apply his Acts to his own Glory, but Cast all upon Fortune, as the Author and Guide of All he did, who was but her Servant.*

This *Envy* and *Emulation*, though they are diseases incident to the Generousest *Princes* (such as *Philip* and *Alexander* were) yet they are more *Predominant* and *Malignant* in some, than others. *Theodosius*, the second *Emperor* of that Name, committed the charge of Building a Wall at *Constantinople* from Sea to Sea unto *Cyrus*, which work he Effecting in *Threescore days*; This great Dispatch was so Grateful to the *People*, that they cryed out in the Streets, That *Constantine* built the City, and *Cyrus* had Restored it; which being heard by the *Emperor*, brought so great an *Envy* upon *Cyrus*, that he could not Expiate it any other way, but by putting on a *Religious Habit.*

He that hath to do with such *Princes*, is to Consider, That he *Walks upon Ashes, under which Fire lies Concealed*; and therefore must he *still Examine their Inclinations* with great Diligence, to the end, he may either *Defend himself* against them; or, if it fall out that he cannot, that he may have this satisfaction of mind at least, That he hath done

his Duty, and all that in *Prudence* he ought.

CHAP. XXXIV.

How to Preserve our Favor and Office with the Succeeding Prince.

HE is deservedly to be remembred amongst the *Darlings of Fortune*, whose Authority and Interest being great with one *Prince*, continues so with his *Successor*. It is truly a thing very Rare in *Courts*, because *He that is to Succeed*, is for the most part *Suspected by the Present Prince*; and therefore, they who *Manage his Affairs*, are necessitated to be Adverse unto the *Heir Apparent*; from whence, commonly, *Deadly Enmities arise*. Besides this also, the Succeeding *Prince* hath, for the most part, *Servants* Known, and Endeared unto him, by a *Long Fidelity*, and *Many Services*; for whose Advancement to Dignity, that he may make way, he will Ordinarily, either of his own Accord, or by the Perswasion of those that desire to Succeed, lay aside the Servants of the Deceased *Prince*.

Yet there are some, whom either the *State of Affairs*, for which they are more *Able*, and

and *Apt than Others*; or ſome other *Dexterous Quality*, and *Taking Humor*, doth ſo Inſinuate them into the ſucceeding *Prince*, That one *Prince* Dying, they loſe nothing thereby, but his *Perſon*. *Macro*, that he might obtain *Caligula* his Favor, ſets his own Wife *Ennia* upon him, to Inveigle him with *Love*, and Bind him in a *Marriage*. The ſame man Commanded *Tiberius* to be *Smothered* with Clothes, as he was Sick and Dying, as *Tacitus* affirms. *Julian* the Emperor retained *Arbetio* ſtill, becauſe he thought him Uſeful, although he *hated* him for his *Pride*, and *Turbulent Diſpoſition*. And *Valentinian*, after him, Called the ſame Man unto him to Oppoſe againſt *Procopius*.

We have hitherto Handled onely ſuch things as our *Courtier*, who will Enjoy the *Prince*'s Favour, ought to *Avoid*; But the ſum of all *Counſels* that can here be given to him, is, *A Modeſty towards the Prince*, ſuch as becomes a Man, *More Mindful of his Duty*, than *of his Swelling Fortune*; let him never *Boaſt*, nor do any thing *Irreverently*; and as much as poſſibly he can, let him *Avoid Envy*; which hath been ſo *Dreadful to many*, and thoſe *Great Men*, That Some of them with pretending a *Love of Eaſe*, others *Imbracing a Retirement to Study*, have ſhowed themſelves *Averſe to Publick Affairs*. Examples in both which caſes, the *Hiſtorians* give us in *Domi-*

tian

tian and *Galba*. He must take heed, he pass not over Carelessly, either those *Treacherous kind of Praises* we spoke of before, nor the *Slanders* that are Cast upon him: They that *Calumniate us*, do say, That Either we are *Wanting in some thing that is Necessary to serve the Prince Well*; or else, That we *Have Said, or Done Something*, either *Really*, or *Intentionally*, to the *Prejudice of Him, or His Service*. As to the *Defects* Imputed unto us, we must either *Modestly Excuse*, and *Justifie Our selves*, or else *Amend them*; or lastly, Endeavor with some other *Vertues* to *Recompense those Wants*. Our *Words* and *Actions* ought to be *so Moderated* and *Weighed*, That they may not be *Obnoxious to Ill Interpretations*; we ought Always to Endeavor to *Search into Other Mens Opinions, and Inclinations, before we Discover our Own*; And if either by *Chance* or *Negligence*, any thing *Slip from us*, which may possibly Offend, we must, when we Reflect upon it, by *some Respective Means*, or by *some kind of Occasional Interpretation*, amongst other Discourse, let them see, what we spoke was not with an *Intention* of *Offending* any body.

If we shall once Discover, that we are *Calumniated* by any one, we ought as little as may be, *be Absent from the Prince*, to whom we are *Slandered*; for besides that, *Love* abates towards those that are *Absent*, *Detraction* also in time *takes Root*, if it be not

Seasonably

Seaſonably Contradicted with Truth; for a *Jealouſie* being once put into the *Prince*'s Head, in Time, through the *Many Suggeſtions* of the Accuſer, there being *no body to Gainſay*, takes ſuch Footing at laſt, That oftentimes the *Prince Hates the Perſon Accuſed*, before *he Examines the Crime*.

He therefore that will *Provide for his Safety*, muſt Make himſelf at *Court*, *one Friend or more*, to Defend him in his *Abſence* againſt the Dangerous Aſſaults of *Calumny*: But withal, he muſt take Care they be *Perſons of Condition* and *Honor*, or at leaſt, *Men of Intereſt*, and ſuch as have *Acceſs to the* Prince's *Ear*, as Readily as our *Enemies*. I confeſs, the Store of ſuch *Friends in Court*, is but very Small, where it is the Uſual Cuſtom, almoſt amongſt all, if not to *Perſecute their Companions themſelves*, at leaſt to *Suffer Them to be Oppreſſed by Others*. But yet it happens ſometimes, That there is *One* that either *out of Gratitude for Benefits Received*, or *With a Deſire of Obliging us*, or elſe *out of Hatred, Towards our Accuſers*, will Perform that *Office*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Oſtentation of the Prince's Favor to be Avoided: Something alſo Concerning our Friends and Followers.

LEt our *Courtier* Avoid all *Oſtentation* of the *Prince's Favor*, not onely to Avoid the *Envy* of the Reſt of his *Companions*, but alſo of the *Prince* himſelf: For lately, when the *Grandees* of *Spain* went about to Supplant Cardinal *Spinoſa*, under *Philip* the Second, See with what a *Wile* they Circumvented him: They all *Struck Sail* to him, they all ſeemed *to Acknowledge, that their Fortunes Depended upon His Favor*; the very *Domeſtick Servants* of the *King*, ſhewed themſelves very *Obedient, and Ready at his Beck*: Which when the *Prince* obſerved, he was removed from *Court*, and all that *power* and *Greatneſs* which he had Acquired, in leſs than Two years fell to Nothing.

Let therefore our *Courtier* learn to be Contented with *a Modeſt Train of Attendants*, and with *a Rate of living* rather Beneath the Dignity wherewith he is honoured by the *Prince*, than Above it; which he muſt be ſure *Never to exceed*. It is Unſeaſonable to leſſen your Attendants, when your *Fortune is Declining*. It availed *Seneca* nothing, after he

he had loſt *Nero's* Favor, to Hide himſelf in his *Private Houſe*, and betake himſelf to his *Studies*, nor to *Shut out Viſitants* with his Pretence of *Want of Health*. Neither did it Advantage *Agricola* a whit, to have *Entred the City by Night*, and with a *Slender Company of Followers*: Wherefore it is neceſſary, That we *put on a Face of Modeſty Betimes*, *and Hold on So*.

Yet although I would not have our *Courtier* be Beſieged with too Great *a Throng of Friends and Servants*, I would not have him neglect to make *Many Creatures and Followers*; not to ſerve him in *his* Pomp, but to *Support and Comfort him*, if any *Adverſity* ſhould happen: For although an Adverſe Fortune finds *Few of theſe Prove Friends*, yet there are, for the moſt part, *Some among them*, who will Endeavor to *Shelter and Aſſiſt you*; if not out of *Friendſhip*, yet out of *Reſpect to their own Advantage*, which they may well expect from the *Reſtauration of your Fortune*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

How to Manage and Dispense the Prince's Favor, Advices, and Comforts in Adversity, with other Rules.

BUt as it is a *Great Content* and Help in *Adversity*, to have *Communicated your Prosperity* Freely and Generously to many, in using the Favor of the *Prince*, to their *Assistance* and *Advantage*; so our *Courtier* is to be Warned, That he *Warily* and Industriously Dispense *These Benefits*; for it is certain, That whatsoever the *Prince* shall at our Intreaty *Do for any Man*, a great part of it is by him Imputed, *as Done to us*. Wherefore, unless the *Prince's* Favor towards us, *be Very Large*, we must not be too Prodigal of *Sharing it amongst Others*: And very seldom must we *Introduce*, or *Commend any unto the Prince*, who are not, in some measure, *Known unto him*, as well as *to Our selves*, whose *Deserts* we ought first Carefully to look into, observing that saying of *Horace*, *Ep. 18. l. 1.*

Till thou art Certain what his Vertues be,
In no Man's Praises be thou Over-free;
Least he Transgress, and purchase Shame to thee.

Moreover, let those *Favors* also, which you Demand for any body from the *Prince*, be

Fit

Fit for the Perſon, and *Suitable to the Times*, Conſiſtant alſo *with the Dignity*, and *Emolument of the Prince*; and laſtly, ſuch as you know have been *Formerly Obtained by Others*. If the *Prince* grants it, we muſt let him ſee we take it as a Great *Favour done unto our ſelves*; if *he Refuſe*, we muſt take heed that he do not *Perceive we are Offended*.

That is alſo to be Obſerved *here*, which we have Touched upon before, That we muſt *never Vainly make ſhow of the Prince's Favour*, nor give it out, *That he is Governed by us*; for we have told you before, how ill that ſucceeded with ſome. *Princes* whatſoever they do, deſire to be thought *to Do it of themſelves*, without *the Help and Authority of any others*, eſpecially their *Subjects*.

If the *Prince* ſhall lay any *Weighty Command* upon us, we endeavour to have it in *writing*, and as *Clearly Interpreted* unto us, as is poſſible: We muſt not omit to Repreſent unto Him, *ſuch Difficulties* before we Undertake the Buſineſs, as we apprehend will *Occur* unto us in the *Execution*. If it be a thing *Committed* to us in *Secreſie*, and *Unfit to be written*, we are to *Repeat the Commands* Over and Over (yet without abſurdity) in the *Prince's* Preſence, to the end we may better underſtand the *Intention of Him that Gives them*, and alſo that *he* may not *Forget what Orders he gave us*.

We

We must also show our selves Ready for the *Meanest Imployments* the *Prince* will cast upon us; for many times a Small Matter is the occasion of a *Great Fortune*; and *Princes* would have their commands to be weighed not by the *Importance of the Affair*, but by the *Greatness and Dignity of Him the Giver*; being no less Incensed at our refusal of *sleight Enterprises*, than our Declining of *Great and Hazardous Undertakings*, when Imposed by Him upon us. When we are Attending upon the *Prince*, we ought to watch Diligently, that we be not *Surprised nor Overwhelmed with Sudden Commands*; And to that end, always as much as may be, we ought to Ruminate before hand All things then afoot, and to Prepare our Mind and Understanding for whatever may *come in Agitation*. We must likewise take heed, that we *Importune not the Prince* with *unseasonable* nor *Impertinent Discourses*, but onely with what we both know to be certain, and judge to be Fit for him to Hear. When the *Prince* speaks we must appear Attentive not as if we *Thought of Something else*; not *Sad*, not *Musing*, least we should seem either to *Sleight*, or *Dislike what he says*.

If any one *Disgusted*, or *Injured by the Prince*, shall come and make his *Complaint* to us, we must let him see we are *sorry for his Misfortune*; Perswading him to *Patience*, *and* Silence,

Silence, and Encouraging him *to Hope well*; leſſening the *Injury*, and *Excuſing the Prince*. But with ſuch as theſe, we muſt deal *warily*, for there are thoſe that *Counterfeit Wrongs* and *Diſcontents*, to ſee if they can Draw any Teſtimony of an *Ill will* to the *Prince* out of us, that thence they may take an occaſion to *Undo us*: Others are *Injured Indeed*, but yet are *Weak* and *Imprudent*, not being able to *Conceal* what is out of *Friendſhip* Communicated to them in Secret.

If our Condition be ſuch, that we keep a *Train of Servants*, we are to take great care that none of them ſpeak Licentiouſly, either of the *Prince*, or his *Favourites*; for many times the *Servant*'s Fault is caſt upon the *Maſter*, from whom his *Words* and *Actions* are often thought to *Proceed*. Amongſt the principal rules of a *Courtier*'s *Prudence*, this is one, To *Diſcover* and *Smell out betimes*, the *Change* and *Diminution of the Prince's Affection towards us*, to the end, that the *Knot of love* between you, may rather be *Gently untied*, *than cut in ſunder*. For ſo many times the *Cauſe of our Diſtaſte being Removed*, or *Worn way*, there is ſometimes an eaſie return for us unto our former *Favour*, eſpecially, if we ſeem, either *not to Remember*, or *not to have Underſtood the Injury*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

How to Make a Judgment of the Constancy, or Change of the Prince's Affection to us.

TO the end our *Courtier* may judge of *Constancy* of the *Prince's Favour* towards him, It is not Enough that he know the *Prince's Humor*, with the *Authority* and *Power*, both of his *Friends and Enemies in Court*; but he must Principally weigh the *Original Cause* of the *Prince's Love* towards him: For, if *That once Cease*, or be found more *Prevalent in Another*, without doubt, the Affection of the *Prince* will either wholly *Cool*, or at least be *much Diminished*.

Yet sometimes it is hard to Divine what is the *Reason*, that you are so *Beloved*; and truly, it is sometimes only a *Fortunate Felicity*, for which no Reason can be given, though ordinarily the *Prince's* love arises, either out of *Similitude of Disposition*, out of the *Pleasingness of your Humor and Manners*, out of your *Services Done him*, or from *your Vertue*; or lastly, from your *Obsequious Pliableness to his Will*, That love which comes from the *similitude or Takingness of your Manners*, although it seem very *Great for a Time*, yet it wears out *Soonest of all*; both, because as we have said before the

the Nature of man Changes daily with Age, or with Variety of Buſineſs; and alſo becauſe it is Hard to find two Diſpoſitions ſo Symphathizing together, as that they Differ in nothing; and many times that wherein they differ, is of more Power to Divide them, than all the reſt to Unite them together.

Yet I know not *what Star* doth ſo *Tune* and *Temper* ſome men ſtill to the *Prince's* Liking, and Diſpoſition, that they can Hardly, if they would, do any *Diſſonant or Diſpleaſing thing to him:* And I do confeſs, That theſe men may make the *Beſt Harveſt*, with a *Prince* of all others; eſpecially, if they know skilfully how to Chooſe and Uſe their Times and how to Take in their Sails ſeaſonably before a Storm.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Prince's favour to Women: Inſtructions for the Prince's Miſtreſſes; Benefits Conferred on Princes, often Make Thoſe Perſons Hated by Them, with other Documents.

PRinces do ſometimes alſo beſtow this *Favour* on *Women*, according as they are more

more or less Prone to Venereal Pleasures; but they also do frequently Fall from Favour, if not by their own Faults, yet out of the *Prince's* Satiety, or finding out a fairer *Mistress*. Wherefore, such *Women* as are Crafty, are wont to Divert *Princes*, as Much as may be, from all Commerce with other *Women*, especially such as may be likely to Intangle the *Prince's* Mind; some also, by Counterfeiting *Disdain*, and Keeping *State*, have Preserved their Lover; and lastly, some more *Audacious* and *Bold*, when they saw the *Prince* once Truly *Love Them*, have kept him still *Drunk* in *Lust*, and *Drowned* in *Pleasure*.

Which arts *Poppæa* Practised upon *Nero*: For *when she saw that he was Enamoured of her becoming* Proud, *If she Entertained him a night or two, it was all she could Afford him, saying, She was a Married Wife, and could not Abandon her Husband* Otho, *who for his Parts and Behaviour Exceeded* Nero: *That in using a Bondslave for his Concubine, had learned nothing from that Servile Familiarity, but Baseness and Nigardice:* Thus *Tacitus* reports her Discourses, *Annal.* 13. And soon after, *Annal.* 14. the same *Poppæa Despairing now of Marrying* Nero, *or of seeing him Divorced from* Octavia, *as long as* Agrippina *lived, sometimes Tauntingly, and sometimes Merrily, began to Reproach the Prince, calling him a Ward, and Subject to others*

others Controulment; and ſaid, he was ſo far from the Government of the Empire, *That he Wanted his own Liberty.* Some *Princes* Miſtreſſes have by this Means held their Affections Faſter, than by the *Dallyings* and *Blandiſhments* of Pleaſure; yet, as I ſaid before, there is no Conſtancy in this kind of Affection to be relied upon long.

Truly one would think that *Love*, which you have Gained by your ſervices, ſhould be *Stable* and *more Firm*, than what comes from *Flattery* or *Pleaſure*, as ariſing out of an *Honeſt Cauſe*; and which being Cheriſhed in you, is apt to ſtir up others to Merit as well by *Vertuous Undertakings*. Yet experience often Teaches us, that very *Great Services* have in *Courts* been the Ruine of thoſe that have Performed them; by reaſon, that *Princes* are wont to *Hate*, whom they cannot *Requite*. They will not be *Indebted* to a *Subject*, and therefore do *Fly the Sight* of Thoſe that have Exceeding *well Deſerved of Them*, as if they did with their Looks Reproach them of Ingratitude; which is the Reaſon, why the Condition of ſuch Men in *Courts*, is much to be Pitied; for when they have Obliged the *Prince* by any *Service*, they are Aſhamed by and by, to *ask a Reward*, leaſt they ſhould ſeem not to have *Given*, but *Sold the Benefit* they did him; who in the mean time, as *Princes* are often *Regardleſs of*

the

the Service Receeived, and *Slow to Reward*, Draws out, day after day, till the *Memory of the Benefit Wears out* in the Minds of those that were Privy to it; whose Silent Reproaches he feared before.

Which some men observing, have judged it fit, *to Strike the Iron whilst it was Hot*; and when they were Designed for any *Busines* to Look to their Reward, *before they Undertook the Imployment*; knowing well that with *Princes* the hope of *Future Services*, is more Prevalent to *Induce Reward*, than the *Memory* of Those that are *Past*; and that it is Better to be Obliged to *Princes* than to have them Obliged to us; Because they believe, *Whoever they have Obliged*, do wish well to them, whilst He that they are Indebted unto, because he is Believed not to Love the *Prince* that hath Denied him, what he Pretended unto is Recompensed onely with *Hate*. This *Commines* tells us, was *Lewis* the Eleventh his Opinion.

The love of *Princes* Towards the *Ministers of their Pleasure*, would seem to be Stable; and Truly, it is of some Continuance, as long as the Inclinations of the *Prince* to *Pleasure* Continue; but those Changing, the Affections to those that Fed them, Change also. Sometimes likewise, the *Prince* Inclining to the *Love of Vertue*, doth *Reject* and *Abominate* Those that are Instruments of his *Pleasures*,

Pleasures. But as some of the Inclinations of *Princes* are more Durable than others, so also is their *Favour* (as I said) of a Proportioned Continuance, towards the *Servants* of those Several Inclinations.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Sundry Precepts Concerning the Pleasures, and Inclinations of the Prince, &c.

I Will not Touch here upon *all* Pleasures whereunto the Nature of the *Prince* is Prone, because All of them are not fit, or apt to have the *Greatness* of any mans *Fortune* built upon them. Those *Passions* that are of greatest sway in *Princes* Minds, and familiar unto them, are *three*, to wit, *Wanton Love*, *Cruelty*, and *Avarice*: The first, as it is more Vehement than *All the Rest*, so it is *More Uncertain*, and *Inconstant*; for though the *Vice* still remains as to the *Subject*, yet it *keeps not Fixed* still upon the *Same Object*: nevertheless, many have used this as a Foundation, whereupon to *Build their Fortunes*, not sticking to *Prostitute their Wives*, so they might gain *the Favour of the* Prince; as we Read in *Tacitus*, that *Otho* did, although it

fell not out well with him; for *Nero* removed him from *Court*, least he should have *a Rival* there.

Others that they might Bind their *Princes* unto Them, made themselves *Witnesses* and *Companions* of their *Wickedness* and *Lusts* by the Example of *Tigellinus*. These Men do not think that *Princes* have a Trick to Free themselves of *Publique Blame* and *Envy*, to sacrifice oftentimes such kind of men unto it. And all those *Servants* of their *Lusts* are to Expect the same fortune as hapned to *Remirus de Orco*, the Minister of *Cæsar Borgia* his Cruelties; whom at last, *Borgia* caused to be Murthered, as Guilty of All the *Ill* that he had done.

And from the Example of this *Remirus*, we may also Read their Destiny, who serve the *Prince* in his *Cruelties*; for the *Prince's* Affection seldom endures towards them, both because he doth, as it were, daily read *his Wickedness in seeing them*, and also is *Afraid of them*, whom he knows *so Apt to Villainy*. *Nero* although hardned in *Vice*, and of a *Cruel Nature*, yet after his Mother's death Hated *Anicetus*, as one whose face Daily Reproached him with his Mother's murther.

The *Affections of Avarice* are least of all changeable; the diversity of the *Object* doth not vary in these as in those of *Love*; it is not *Diminished*, but *Increases with Age*; and although

although it is as *Hateful to the People*, as *Cruelty*, yet it is *Longer Endured*, becauſe it *Covers* and *Cloaks all Exactions*, under the pretence of *Publick Neceſſity*, *Parſimony*, and the *Common good*. Therefore, thoſe that upon this ſcore ſerve *Princes*, may long preſerve themſelves in their *Favour*, whilſt (which is rare in theſe kind of men) they do not become *Froward* and *Peeviſh*, nor too much intend *Enriching Themſelves*.

Frowardneſs, which for the moſt part is likewiſe *Contumelious*, begets Hatred both to the *Prince*, and to it ſelf; The author of which, the *Prince* will at laſt caſt away, to Remove the *Envy* of it from himſelf.

Riches are alſo obnoxious to *Envy*, not of the *People onely*, but ſometimes of the *Prince* himſelf; who if he be *Truly Avaritious*, will hardly be Content, till he have *Squeezed the Full Sponge*, as we read that *Veſpaſian* was wont to do; but will rather Imitate the *Country Clowns*, who when they have *Fatned their Hogs*, *do Kill and Devour them*. Truly, *France* hath ſeen many ſuch, who being *Proud* and *Peeviſh*, and who making too much Haſt to be Rich, have thereby, and by their *Inſolence*, from a great Height of *Fortune*, faln to *Nothing*.

In the time of *Philip le Belle*, *Peter Berchius*, High Chamberlain, and Treaſurer of *France*, was ſtrangled at *Paris*; *Lewis*,

Philip's Son, afterward coming to the *Crown*, *Enguerrandus Marigny* met with the same *Misfortune*: Under *Charles* the Seventh, *Gyacensis*, in Dignity Equal to *Berchias*, was Brought to the *Bar*, and afterwards *Sowed in a Sack, and Crowned*; his Successor *Camus Beaulieu* was Killed at *Poictiers*; and the Same End had come under *Philip* the First, to *Peter Essart*, if with an Hundred thousand *Florins* he had not Redeemed his Life.

I could Recount More nearer us, but that I am willing to spare their *Memory*: In the mean time these Examples are sufficient to Instruct, That as the too *Great Easiness* of these *Ministers* brings too Great a Detriment upon the *Prince*'s Profit; so their *Insolent Griping*, and *Frowardness*, Draws *Hate and Destruction upon themselves*: And that as we ought not to Refuse a just occasion of *inriching our selves*, so we must not show our selves *too Greedy after Riches*, nor *Amass* so much together, as may Expose us to the *Publick Envy*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

Concluding with Many, Choice, and Neceſſary Admonitions.

THere Remains onely now unhandled the laſt Cauſe, why *Courtiers* are *Beloved by their Princes*; to wit, *An Aptneſs, and Singular Ability to Diſpatch, and Manage their Affairs*: For which reaſon, When we ſee that we are become *Acceptable to the Prince*, we muſt conſider, Whether *He Love this Aptneſs for buſineſs*, becauſe of the *Uſefulneſs* and *neceſſity of it*; or elſe, becauſe the *Prince* deſires to *Acquire from us that Aptitude to Himſelf*. If it be *Grateful*, becauſe it is *Neceſſary*, his *Favor* to us will endure *as Long as the Neceſſity Remains*; but his *Love*; will rather be a *Forced*, than *Voluntary Love*.

If we ſee the *Prince* Aſpire to the Glory of this *Aptitude* for buſineſs, there is no doubt, but when he ſees, that he cannot *Either Equal*, or *Excel us*, we ſhall become *an Eye-ſore*, and *Unacceptable to him*; for there is in *Princes* an Innate Deſire, as well as in all other Men, of *Excelling All Perſons in thoſe Arts they Addict themſelves unto*; and therefore no Man, almoſt, is Pleaſed to be Excelled in them by his own *Servant*. *Aſinius Pollio*, ſome Exhorting him to make a Reply to thoſe Verſes

Auguſtus Cæſar had made againſt him, Anſwered, *That he would not, by Contending, to ſeem the Better Scribe, draw his Envy upon him, that had Power to Proſcribe him.* There Ariſing a Diſpute once between *Favorinus* the Philoſopher, and the Emperor *Adrian*, about ſome word, wherein the Philoſopher at laſt ſeemed to yield; his Friends wondring at it, he ſaid, *I am not Aſhamed to be Overcome in Knowledge by Him that Commands Thirty Legions.*

To this Purpoſe, that Saying of *Solomon* is very Notorious, *Do not Seem Wiſe before the King.* It is neceſſary therefore, That whoſoever deſires to Purchaſe a *Prince's* Favor, muſt ſet aſide the deſire of *his Own Glory*; and not onely in *Verbal Diſputes*, but in *every thing elſe*, yield him *the day:* And to that end, it will not be amiſs, on purpoſe to *Commit ſome Errors and Over-ſights*; ſo that they be *not Two Groſs*, nor like to take too much from our *Repute.*

Out of our Diſcourſe hitherto, it is evident, how little Certainty *is in all the Greatneſs and Favor at Court*; Wherefore, the beſt Counſel that can be given to all *Courtiers*, is; *To Prepare Themſelves for their Fall*; for although it is Thought a more Generous Thing *to Fight*, than *to Flie*, when you are once *entred theſe liſts*; yet if you are to do it *with Greater Hazard of Danger*, than *Hope of Succeſs*,

it

it is not Indiscreet *to Sound a Retreat Betimes*, and, in Imitation of the *Parthians*, to *Fight Flying*.

As it is also a more Glorious thing to *descend gently by steps*, and as it were, to *go out at the Door*, than to be *Cast Headlong out at the Window*; so it is less shameful, under Colour of *some Specious and Contrived Pretences*, to bid *Adieu* to your *Honors* and *Offices*, than to Expect to be *Stript Disgracefully of them*: And hereunto may fitly be applyed the saying of an ancient *Roman*.

Why dost thou Weary Tired Fortune so?
Depart the Court, Before thou art Forc'd to go.

Seneca says, it is Happiness *to Die in the Midst of your Felicity*; but I on the other side think *That Courtier happy*, who in the Midst of his Prosperous Race *Makes a Retreat*. Perhaps he that shall do So, shall not be Applauded by all, but by some that look upon the *Outsides of things*, be Judged unworthy of the *Fortune that he hath so abandoned*. Yet he that is *wise*, not Regarding such Idle Discourses, will provide for his own *Safety*, and remember, that in *all Games*, it is Better to give over *a winner*, than *a loser*; as also, that no *Prudent Man* will exchange, or adventure *Certain Things*, for *Things so Very Uncertain*.

Though our *Ascent* to *These Heights* of *Fortune* and *Dignities*, is, as it were, by *steps* in order; yet our *Descents*, if not Timely foreseen, are for the most part *Headlong*, and *Sudden*: So that those that are Flourishing in *Favor* and *Authority*, if they chance once to *Slip*, or *Stumble*, their Falls are commonly *Desperate* and *Fatal*.

Behold here the *Compendium* of All, that I desired to say, for our *Courtiers* Instruction: Whether *these Precepts* be *Pertinent*, and *Select or no*, I will not Determine, but leave that to the *Judgment and Experience of my Friends*. For my own part, I confess, I have at present *no Great Use of them*, and am so far from being Transported with *Sadness*, at my *Private* and *Retired Condition*, that I do heartily say with *Seneca*; *in Thyestes Act. 2.*

Let him that will ascend the Tottering Seat
Of Courtly Grandeur, and become as Great
As are his Mounting Wishes; as for Me
Let Sweet Repose, and Rest, my Portion be.
Give me some Mean Obscure Recess, a Sphere
Out of the Road of Business, or the Fear
Of falling Lower, where I sweetly may
My Self, and Dear Retirement still enjoy.
Let not my Life, or Name be known unto
The Grandees of the Times, Tost to and fro

By

By Cenſures or Applauſe; but let my Age
Slide Gently by, not overthwart the Stage
Of Publick Action; unheard, unſeen,
And Unconcern'd, as if I ne'er had been.
And thus, while I ſhall Paſs my Silent Days
In Shady Privacy, free from the Noiſe
And Buſtles of the World, then ſhall I
A Good Old Innocent Plebeian *Die.*
Death is a meer Surprize, a very Snare
To him that makes it his Life's Greateſt care
To be a Publick Pageant, Known to All,
But unacquainted with Himſelf, doth fall.

Perſons Characterized.

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Fragmenta Regalia:

OR,

OBSERVATIONS

On the Late QUEEN

ELIZABETH

Her Times, and Favourites.

WRITTEN

By Sir *Robert Naunton*, Master of the Court of Wards.

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Fragmenta Regalia:

OR,

OBSERVATIONS

On the Late Queen

ELIZABETH

Her Times, and Favourites.

TO take Her in the Original, She was Daughter to *Henry* the Eighth, by *Anne Bullen*, the second of six Wives which He had, and one of the Maids of Honour to the Divorced Queen *Katharine* of *Austria* (or as they stile it) *Infanta of Spain*, and from thence taken into the Royal Bed.

That She was [illegible] of a most Noble and Royal Extract by Her Father, will not fall into question: for on that side there was Diſimbogued into her veins by a confluence of Blood,

Bloud the very Abſtract of all the greateſt Houſes in Chriſtendom; and remarkable it is concerning that violent deſertion of the Royal Houſe of the *Britains*, by the invaſion of the *Saxons*, and afterwards by the Conqueſt of the *Normans*, that by the viciſſitude of times, and through a diſcontinuance (almoſt a thouſand years) the Royal Scepter ſhould fall back into the Current of the old Britiſh bloud, in the perſon of her Renowned Grandfather *Henry* the Seventh, together with whatſoever the *German*, *Norman*, *Burgundian*, *Caſtalian*, and *French* Atchievements, with the Intermarriages, which Eight hundred years had acquired, incorporated, and brought back into the old Royal Line.

By her Mother She was of no Soveraign deſcent, yet Noble, and very Ancient in the Name and Family of *Bullen*, though ſome Erroneouſly brand it with a Citizens riſe or original, which was yet but of a ſecond Brother, who (as it were) Divining the Greatneſs and Luſtre to come to his Houſe, was ſent into the City to acquire wealth, *ad ædificandum antiquam domum*. Unto whoſe atchievements (for he was Lord Mayor of *London*) fell in, as it was averred, both the bloud and inheritance of the eldeſt Brother, for want of iſſue Male, by which Accumulation, the Houſe within a few deſcents mounted in *Culmen honoris*,

honoris, and was ſuddenly Elated into the beſt Families of *England* and *Ireland*, as *Howard*, *Ormund*, *Sackvile*, and divers others. Having thus Toucht, and now leaving her Stirp, I come to her Perſon; and as ſhe came to the Crown by the deceaſe of her Brother and Siſter. Under *Edward* She was His, and one of the Darlings of Fortune: for beſides the conſideration of Bloud, there was between theſe two Princes a Concurrency and Symphathy in their Natures and Affections, together with the Celeſtial bond (conformity in Religion) which made them One, and Friends; for the King ever called her his Sweeteſt and Deareſt Siſter, and was ſcarce his own man, She being abſent, which was not ſo between him and the Lady *Mary*. Under his Siſter She found her condition much altered: For it was reſolved, and her Deſtiny had Decreed to ſet her an Apprentice in the School of Affliction, and to draw her through the Ordeal fire of tryal, the better to Mould and Faſhion her to Rule and Sovereignity; which finiſhed, and Fortune calling to mind, that the time of her ſervitude was expired, gave up her Indentures, and therewith delivered up into her cuſtody a Scepter, as a reward for her Patience, which was about the twenty ſixth year of her Age; a time in which (as for Externals) ſhe was full Blown, ſo was ſhe for her Internals

nals grown Ripe and seasoned with Adversity, and in the Exercise of her Vertue: for it seems Fortune meant no more, than to shew her a piece of her variety, and Changeableness of her Nature, and so to conduct her to her destined Felicity. She was of Personage Tall, of Hair and Complexion Fair, and therewith well favoured, but high nosed, of limbs and feature neat, and which added to the Lustre of those Exteriour Graces, of Stately and Majestick Comportment; participating in this more of her Father than Mother, who was of an inferiour Allay, Plausible, or as the French hath it, more *debonaire* and Affable, vertues which might well suit with Majesty; and which descending, as Hereditary to the Daughter, did render her of a more sweet Temper, and Endeared her more to the love and liking of the people; who gave her the name and fame of a most Gracious and Popular Princess; the atrocity of her Father's nature, being Rebated in hers, by the Mother's sweeter Inclinations. For so take, and that no more than the Character, out of his own mouth; He never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust.

If we search further into her Intellectuals and abilities, the whole course of Government decyphers them to the Admiration of posterity; for it was full of Magnanimity, tempe-

tempered with Juſtice, and Piety; and to ſpeak truly, noted but with one act or taint; all her deprivations either of life or liberty, being legal, and neceſſitated: She was learned (her ſex, and the time conſidered) beyond Common belief; for letters about this time, and ſomewhat before, began to be of Eſteem and in faſhion, the former ages being overcaſt with the Miſts and Fogs of the *Roman* ignorance; and it was the maxim that over-ruled the foregoing times, That ignorance was the mother of devotion. Her wars were a long time more in the Auxiliary part, in Aſſiſtance of foreign Princes and States, than by Invaſion of any, till common policie Adviſed it for a ſafer way, to ſtrike firſt abroad, than at home to Expect the ware, in all which ſhe was happy & victorious. The Change and Alteration of Religion upon the Inſtant of her Acceſſion (the ſmoak and fire of her Siſter's Martyrdomes ſcarcely quenched) was none of her leaſt remarkable Accounts: But the ſupport and eſtabliſhment thereof, with the means of her ſubſiſtence, amidſt ſo Powerfull Enemies abroad, and thoſe many Domeſtique Practices, were (methinks) works of Inſpiration, and of no humane providence, which on her Siſter's departure ſhe moſt religiouſly acknowledged, aſcribing the glory of her deliverance to God alone: for ſhe received the news both of the Queen's

Queens death, and her Proclamation, by the general Consent of the House, and the Publick suffrage of the people, whereat, falling on her knees (after a good time of Respiration) she uttered this Verse of the Psalms, *A Domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris*, which we find to this day on the stamp of her gold, with this on her silver, *Posui Deum adjutorem meum.* Her Ministers and Instruments of State, such as were *participes curarum*, and bore a great part of the burthen, were Many, and those Memorable, but they were onely Favourites, not Minions; such as Acted more by her own Princely rules and judgments, than by their own wills and appetites, which she Observed to the last: for we find no *Gaveston*, *Vere*, or *Spencer*, to have swayed alone, during forty four years; which was a well settled and Advised Maxim; for it valued her the more, it Awed the most secure, and it took best with the people, and it starved all Emulations, which are apt to rise and vent in obloquious acrimony (even against the Prince) where there is onely *Amator Palatii.*

The Principal note of her Reign will be that she ruled much by *Faction* and *Parties*, which her self both made, upheld, and weakned, as her own great judgment advised. For I dissent from the common received opinion, that my Lord of *Leicester* was Absolute

lute and Above all in her *Grace*: and though I come somewhat short of the knowledge of those times, yet (that I might not Rove, and shoot at Random) I know it from assured Intelligence, that it was not so. For proof whereof (among many that I could present) I will both relate a short, and therein a known truth, And it was thus. *Bowyer*, a Gentleman of the Black rod, being charged by her Express Command to look Precisely to all Admissions into the *Privy-Chamber*, one day stayed a very Gay Captain, and a follower of my Lord of *Leicester*'s, from Entrance: For that he was neither well known, nor a Sworn Servant to the *Queen*: at which Repulse, the Gentleman bearing high on my Lord's favour, told him, he might perchance procure him a Discharge; *Leicester* coming into the Contest, said Publickly (which was none of his wont) that he was a Knave, and should not continue long in his Office; and so turning about to go in to the Queen, *Bowyer* (who was a bold Gentleman, and well beloved) stept before him, and fell at her Majesties feet, Related the story, and humbly craves her Grace's Pleasure; and whether my Lord of *Leicester* was King, or her Majesty Queen? Whereunto she replyed with her wonted Oath (God's death) *my Lord, I have wisht you well, but my favour is not so lockt up for you, that others*

shall

shall not partake thereof; for I have Many Servants, unto whom I have, and will at my Pleasure bequeath my Favour, and likewise Resume the same; and if you think to Rule here I will take a Course to see you forth Coming, I will have here but one Mistress, and no Master, and look that no ill happen to Him, lest it be severely Required at your hands. Which so quelled my Lord of *Leicester*, that his Feigned Humility was long after one of his best vertues. Moreover the Earl of *Sussex*, then Lord Chamberlain, was his profest Antagonist to his dying day. And for my Lord of *Hunsdon* and Sir *Thomas Sackvile*, after Lord Treasurer, (who were all Contemporaries) he was wont to say of them, that they were of the Tribe of *Dan*, and were *Noli me tangere's*; Implying, that they were not to be Contested with; for they were indeed of the Queen's near kindred. From whence, and in more instances I Conclude, that she was Absolute and Soveraign Mistress of her Graces; and that all those, to whom she distributed her Favours, were never more than Tenants at will and stood on no better ground than her Princely Pleasure and their own Good behaviour. And this also I present as a known Observation, that she was (though very capable of Counsel) absolute enough in her own Resolutions; which was ever Apparent even to her last, in that her averse-

Aversation to grant *Tyrone* the least drop of her Mercy, though Earnestly and Frequently Importuned by the whole Councel of State, with very many Pressing Reasons, and as the state of her Kingdom then stood (I may speak it with Assurance) Necessitated Arguments. If we look into her Inclination, as it is disposed either to *Magnificence* or *Frugality*, we shall find in them many Notable Considerations, for all her Dispensations were so poysed, as though Discretion and Justice had both agreed to stand at the beam, and see them weighed out in due Proportion, the Maturity of her Years and Judgment meeting in a concurrency, and at such an Age as seldom lapseth to Excess. To consider them apart: We have not many Precedents of her Liberality, or of any large Donatives to particular men; my Lord of *Essex* Book of *Parks* only Excepted, which was a Princely gift, and some few more of a lesser Size to my Lord of *Leicester*, *Hatton*, and others. Her Rewards consisted chiefly in Grants of Leases of Offices, Places of Judicature: but for Ready Money, and in any Great sums, she was very sparing; which we partly conceive was a Vertue rather drawn from Necessity, than her Nature, for she had many layings out, and to her last Period. And I am of opinion with S. *Walter Raleigh* that those many Brave Men of our Times, and

of

of the *Militia*, Tasted little more of her Bounty than in her Grace and Good word, with their due Entertainment, for She ever paid the *Souldiers* well, which was the *Honour* of her Times, and more than her Great Adversary of *Spain* could Perform. So that when we come to the consideration of her *Frugality*, the observation will be little more, than that her *Bounty* and it were so Inter-woven together, that the one was suited by an honourable way of Spending, the other limited by a Necessitated way of Sparing. The Irish Action we may call a malady, and a Consumption of her Times, for It Accompanied her to her End; and it was of so Profuse and vast an Expence, that it drew near a distemperature of State, and of Passion in her self: For toward her last she grew Hard to Please; her Arms being Accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering her Expectation and wonted success for a good while, it was an Unthrifty and Inauspicious war, which did much disturb and Mislead her judgment, & the more for that it was a Precedent which was taken out of her own pattern: For as the Queen (by way of diversion) had at the coming to the Crown supported the revolted States of *Holland*, so did the King of *Spain* turn the Trick on her self towards her going out, by cherishing the Irish rebellion. Where it falls into consideration, what the State of the King-

Kingdom and the Crown Revenues werethen able to Embrace and Endure; if we look into the Eſtabliſhment of thoſe times, with the liſt of the Iriſh Army, conſidering the defeatments of *Blackwater*, with all precedent Expences, as it ſtood from my Lord of *Eſſex*'s undertaking to the ſurrender of *Kingſale* under the General *Mountjoy*, and ſomewhat after; we ſhall find the Horſe and Foot Troops were for three or four years together, much about 20000. Which beſides the Naval charge, which was a dependant of the ſame War, in that the Queen was then forced to keep in continual pay a ſtrong Fleet at Sea, to Attend the Spaniſh Coaſts and Ports, both to alarm the *Spaniard*, and to intercept his Forces deſigned for the Iriſh aſſiſtance: ſo that the charge of that War alone did coſt the Queen 300000*l. per annum* at leaſt, which was not the Money of her Diſburſements, an Expence which (without the publick aid) the State and the Royal Receipts cou'd not have much longer endured; which out of her own frequent Letters and complaints to the Deputy *Mountjoy*, for caſheering part of that Liſt as ſoon as he could, may be collected; for the Queen was then driven into a ſtrait.

We are naturally prone to Applaud the Times behind us, and to vilifie the preſent: for the current of her Fame carries it to this

day, how Royally and Victoriously she lived and dyed, without the grievance and grudge of the people; yet that truth may appear without retraction from the Honour of so great a Princess, it is manifest she left more debts unpaid, taken upon the credit of her Privy Seals, than her Progenitors did, or could have taken up that way, in a hundred years before her; which was an enforced piece of State, to lay the burthen on that horse, that was best able to bear it, at the dead lift, when neither her Receipts could yield her Relief at the pinch, nor the urgency of her Affairs endure the delays of a Parliamentary Assistance: And for such aids it is likewise apparent, That she received more, and with the love of the people, than any two of her Predecessors, that took most, which was a Fortune strained out of the Subject, through the Plausibility of her Comportment, and, as I would say without offence, the Prodigal Distribution of her Graces to all sorts of Subjects: For I believe, no Prince living, that was so Tender of Honour, and so exactly stood for the preservation of Soveraignty, that was so great a Courtier of her people, yea, of the Commons, and that Stoopt and Descended lower in presenting her person to the publick view, as she past in her Progresses and Perambulations; and in the Ejaculation of her prayers on her people.

And

And truly, though much may be given in praiſe of her Magnanimity, and therewith comply with her Parliaments, and for all that come off at laſt with honour and profit; yet muſt we aſcribe ſome part of the Commendation to the wiſdom of the times, and the choice of Parliament-men: for I find not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious diſpute, Elections being made of *Grave* and *Diſcreet* perſons, not *Factious* and *Ambitious* of Fame; ſuch as came not to the Houſe with a Malevolent ſpirit of Contention, but with a Preparation to Conſult on the Publick Good, rather to Comply than Conteſt with her Majeſty: Neither doe I find, that the Houſe was at any time weakned and peſtered with the admiſſion of too many *Young heads*, as it hath been of later times; which remembers me of Recorder *Martin*'s Speech, about the tenth of our late Soveraign Lord King *James*, when there were Accounts taken of forty Gentlemen, not above Twenty, and ſome not exceeding Sixteen, which moved him to ſay, That it was the Ancient cuſtom for Old men to make Laws for young ones, but that then he ſaw the caſe altered, and that there were Children Elected unto the great Council of the Kingdom which came to invade and invert nature, and to Enact Laws to Govern their Fathers. Sure we are,

the Houſe always took the *Common Cauſe* into their Conſideration, and they ſaw the Queen had juſt occaſion, and need enough to uſe their Aſſiſtance; neither do I remember that the Houſe did ever Capitulate or Preferr their Private to the Publick, the Queen's neceſſities, *&c.* but waited their times, and in the firſt place gave their Supply, and according to the Exigency of her Affairs; yet failed not at laſt to obtain what they deſired, ſo that the Queen and her Parliaments had ever the good Fortune to depart in love, and on reciprocal Terms, which are conſiderations which have not been ſo Exactly obſerved in our laſt Aſſemblies, as they might, and I would to God they had been: for conſidering the great debt left on the King, and in what Incumbrances the Houſe it ſelf had then Drawn him, his Majeſty was not well uſed, though I lay not the blame on the whole ſuffrage of the Houſe, where he had Many good Friends; for I dare Avouch, had the Houſe been freed of half a dozen of *Popular* and *Diſcontented Perſons*, ſuch as (with the fellow that burnt the Temple at *Epheſus*) would be talked of, though but for Doing of Miſchief, I am confident the King had obtained, that which in Reaſon, and at his firſt Acceſſion, he ought to have Received Freely, and without any Condition. But pardon the Digreſſion, which is here Remembred,

bred, not in the way of Aggravation, but in true zeal to the publick good, and presented in *Caution* to future times; for I am not Ignorant how the ſpirit of the Kingdom now moves to make his Majeſty Amends on any occaſion, and how deſirous the Subject is to Expiate that offence at any Rate, may it pleaſe his Majeſty graciouſly to make tryal of his Subjects Affection, and at what price they now value his Goodneſs and Magnanimity. But to our purpoſe; the *Queen* was not to learn, that as the ſtrength of her Kingdom conſiſted in the Multitude of her Subjects; ſo the Security of her Perſon Reſted in the Love and Fidelity of her people; which ſhe politickly Affected (as it hath been thought) ſomewhat beneath the Height of her Spirit, and Natural Magnanimity. Moreover it will be a true note of her Providence, that ſhe would always liſten to her Profit, for ſhe would not refuſe the Informations of Mean Perſons, with purpoſed improvement, and had learned the Philoſophy of *Hoc agere*, to look into her own work; of the which there is a notable Example of one *Carwarden*, an under-Officer of the Cuſtom-Houſe, who obſerving his time, preſented her with a paper, ſhewing how ſhe was abuſed in the under-renting of her Cuſtoms, and therewithall humbly deſired her Majeſty to Conceal Him, for that it did con-

cern two or three of her great Councellours whom Cuſtomer *Smith* had Bribed with 200l. a man, ſo to loſe the Queen 200 *l. per annum*, which being made known to the Lords, they gave ſtrict order, that *Carwarden* ſhould not have Acceſs to the back-ſtairs; till at laſt, her Majeſty Smelling the Craft, and Miſſing *Carwarden*, She ſent for him back, and incouraged him to ſtand to his Information; which the poor man did ſo Handſomely, that within the ſpace of ten years, he brought *Smith* to Double his Rent, or to leave the cuſtoms to new Farmers. So that we may take this alſo into obſervation; that there were of the Queen's Council, that were not in the Catalogue of Saints.

Now as we have taken a view of ſome particular Notions of her Times, her Nature and Neceſſities: It is not beſide the text, to give a ſhort Touch on the Helps, and Advantages of her Reign, which were without Parallel, for ſhe had neither *Husband*, *Brother*, *Siſter*, nor *Child·en* to Provide for, who as they are Dependants of the Crown, ſo doe they Neceſſarily draw maintenance from thence, and do oftentimes Exhauſt and Draw deep, eſpecially when there is an ample fraternity of the bloud Royal, and of the Princes of the Bloud, as it was in the time of *Edward* the third, and *Henry* the fourth: for when the Crown cannot, the publick

Publick ought to give them Honourable Allowance; for they are the Honour and Hopes of the Kingdom and the Publick, which enjoys them, hath a like interest in them with the Father that begot them and our Common-Law, which is the Inheritance of the Kingdom, did ever of old provide aids for the *Primogenitures*, and the eldest Daughter. So that the multiplicy of Courts, and the Great Charge which necessarily follow a King, and Queen, a Prince and the Royal Issue, was a thing which was not *in rerum natura*, during the space of forty years, and which by time was worn out of memory, and without the consideration of the present times. Insomuch, that the aids given to the late and right noble Prince *Henry*, and to his Sister the Lady *Elizabeth*, were at first generally received for impositions of a new Coynage. Yea, the late impositions for Knighthood (though an ancient Law) fell also into the imputation of a Tax of novelty, for that it lay long covered in the embers of division, between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and forgotten, or connived at by the succeeding Princes: So that the strangeness of the observation, and difference of those later reigns is, that the Queen took up beyond the power of the Law, which fell not into the murmur of the people; and her successors nothing but by warrant of the Law, which ne-

vertheleſs was conceived (through diſuſe) to be Injurious to the Liberty of the Kingdom.

Now before I come to any further mention of her Favourites, (for hitherto I have delivered but ſome Obvious Paſſages, thereby to prepare and ſmooth a way for the reſt that follows) it is requiſite that I Touch on the Relicks of the other Reign, I mean the Body of her Siſters Council of State, which ſhe Retained intire; neither Removing, nor Diſcontenting any, although ſhe knew them averſe to her Religion (and in her Siſters time Perverſe towards her Perſon) and privy to her Troubles and Impriſonment; A prudence which was incompatible with her Siſters nature, for ſhe both diſſipated and Perſecuted the major part of her Brother's Council. But this will be of certainty, that how Compliable ſoever and Obſequious ſhe found them, yet for a good ſpace ſhe made little uſe of their Counſels, more than in the Ordinary courſe of the Board, for ſhe held a Dormant Table in her own Princely Breaſt: yet ſhe kept them together, and their Places, without any ſudden Change: ſo that we may ſay of them, That they were of the *Court*, not of the *Council*. For whileſt ſhe Amuſed them with a kind of Promiſſive Diſputation concerning the Points Controverted by both Churches, ſhe did ſet down her own Reſervations, without their Privity, and made

made all her Progreſſions Gradations. But ſo, that the Tenents of her ſecrecy, with intent of her eſtabliſhment, were Pitcht, before it was known where the Court would ſit down. Neither do I find, that any of her Siſters Council of State were either Repugnant to her Religion, or Oppoſed her doings (*Englefield* Maſter of the Horſe excepted, who withdrew himſelf from the Board, and ſhortly after from out her Dominions) ſo Plyable and Obedient they were to Change with the Times, and their Princes. And of this there will fall in here a Relation both of Recreation, and of known Truth.

Paulet, Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Treaſurer, having ſerved then four Princes in as Various and Changeable ſeaſons, that I may well ſay, time, nor any age hath yielded the like precedent. This Man being noted to grow High in her Favour (as his Place and Experience required) was queſtioned by an Intimate friend of his, how he ſtood up for Thirty years together, amidſt the Changes and Reigns of ſo many Chancellors and Great Perſonages; Why, quoth the Marqueſs, *Ortus ſum ex ſalice, non ex quercu*, I was made of the plyable Willow, not of the ſtubborn Oak. And truly the Old Man hath Taught them all, eſpecially *William* Earl of *Pembroke*; for they two were ever of the King's Religion, and over-zealous

Profeſſors. Of theſe it is ſaid, that being both younger Brothers (yet of Noble Houſes) they ſpent what was left them, and came on truſt to the Court; where upon the bare ſtock of their Wits they began to Traffick for themſelves, and proſpered ſo well, that they Got, Spent, and Left more than any Subjects from the *Norman* Conqueſt to their own Times: whereunto it hath been prettily replyed, that they lived in a Time of Diſſolution.

To conclude then, of any of the former reign, it is ſaid, that theſe two lived and dyed chiefly in her favour. The latter, upon his ſon's marriage with the Lady *Katharine Grey*, was like utterly to have loſt himſelf: But at the Inſtant of the conſummation, Apprehending the inſafety and danger of an inter-marriage with the Bloud-Royal, he fell at the Queen's feet, where he both Acknowledged his Preſumption with tears, and projected the Cauſe and the Divorce together; and ſo quick he was at his work, (for it ſtood him upon) that upon Repudiation of the Lady, he clapt up a marriage for his Son the Lord *Herbert*, with *Mary Sidney*, daughter to Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; the blow falling on *Edward* late Earl of *Hertford*, who to his coſt took up the Divorced Lady, of whom the Lord *Beauchamp* was born, and *William* Earl of *Hertford* is deſcended. I come now

to

to preſent Thoſe of her own Election, which ſhe either admitted to her ſecrets of State, or took into her Grace and Favour: of whom, in their order, I crave leave to give unto poſterity a cautious deſcription, with a ſhort Character or Draught of the perſons themſelves. For without offence to others, I would be true to my ſelf, their memories and merits diſtinguiſhing them of the *Militia* from the *Togati*: and of theſe ſhe had as many, and thoſe as able Miniſters, as any of her Progenitors.

Leiceſter.

IT will be out of doubt, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* was one of the firſt whom ſhe made Maſter of the Horſe: he was the youngeſt Son then living of the Duke of *Northumberland*, beheaded *primo Mariæ*; and his Father was that *Dudley*, which our Hiſtories couple with *Epſon*; and both ſo much Infamed for the Caterpillars of the Commonwealth, during the reign of *Henry* the ſeventh; who being of a Noble extract, was Executed the firſt year of *Henry* the eighth: but not thereby ſo Extinct, but that he left a plentiful Eſtate, and ſuch a Son, who, as the vulgar ſpeaks it, could live without the Seat; for out of the aſhes of his Father's Infamy, he roſe

roſe to be a Duke, and as High, as ſubjection could Permit, or Soveraignty endure; and though he could not find out any Appellation to aſſume the Crown in his own Perſon, yet he projected, and very nearly Effected it for his Son *Gilbert*, by Inter-marriage with the Lady *Jane Gray*, and ſo by that way to bring it about into his loyns. Obſervations, which though they lie behind us, and ſeem impertinent to the Text, yet are they not much Extravagant: for they muſt lead, and ſhew us how the After-paſſages were brought about with the Dependances; and on the hinges of a collateral workmanſhip: and truly, it may amaze a well-ſetled judgment, to look back into thoſe times, and to conſider how this Duke could attain to ſuch a pitch of Greatneſs; his Father dying in Ignominy, and at the Gallows, his Eſtate confiſcate, and that for Peeling and Polling, by the Clamour, and Crucifige of the People; but when we better think upon it, we find that he was given up, but as a Sacrifice to pleaſe the People, not for any offence committed againſt the Perſon of the King; ſo that upon the matter he was a Martyr of the Prerogative, and the King in honour could do no leſs, than give back to his Son the Privileges of his blood, with the acquirings of his Father's profeſſion, for he was a Lawyer, and of the King's Counſel,

Counſel at Law, before he came to be *ex interioribus conſiliis*, where, beſides the licking of his own fingers, he got the King a maſs of Riches, and that not with the hazard, but the loſs of his fame and life for the King's Father's ſake. Certain it is, that his Son was left rich in Purſe and Brain, which are good foundations, and full to ambition; and it may be ſuppoſed, he was on all occaſions well heard of the King, as a Perſon of mark and compaſſion in his eye: but I find not that he did put up for Advancement, during *Henry* the Eighth's time, although a vaſt Aſpirer, and Provident ſtorer. It ſeems he thought the King's reign was given to the falling ſickneſs: but eſpying his time fitting, and the Soveraignty in the hands of a Pupil Prince, he thought he might as well then put up for it as the beſt, for having then poſſeſſion of blood, and a purſe, with a head-piece of a vaſt extent, he ſoon got Honour, and no ſooner there, but he began to ſide it with the beſt, even with the Protector, and in concluſion got his, and his Brother's heads; ſtill aſpiring, till he Expired in the loſs of his own: ſo that Poſterity may, by Reading the Father and Grandfather, make judgment of the Son; for we ſhall find, that this *Robert* (whoſe original we have now traced, the better to preſent him) was inheritor of the Genius and Craft of his Father, and *Ambroſe* of

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the eſtate, of whom hereafter we ſhall make ſome ſhort mention.

We take him now as he was admitted into the Court, and the Queen's favour, where he was not to ſeek to play his part well, and dexterouſly. But his play was chiefly at the fore-game; not that he was a learner at the latter, but he loved not the after-wit, for they report (and I think not untruly) that he was ſeldom behind-hand with his Gameſters, and that they always went away with the loſs.

He was a very Goodly Perſon, and ſingular well-Featured, and all his youth well Favoured, and of a Sweet aſpect, but High-fore-headed, which as I ſhould take it, was of no Diſcommendation: but towards his latter end (which with old Men, was but a middle-age) he grew High-coloured and Red-faced: So that the Queen in this, had much of Her Father, for (excepting ſome of Her Kindred, and ſome few that had handſom wits in crooked bodies) ſhe always took Perſonage in the way of her election; for the people hath it to this day in Proverb, King *Harry* loved a Man. Being thus in her grace, ſhe called to mind the ſufferings of his Anceſtors, both in her Fathers and Siſters Reigns, and reſtored his and his brothers blood, creating *Ambroſe*, the elder, Earl of *Warwick*, and himſelf Earl of *Leiceſter*, &c. And he was *ex primitiis*, or of her firſt choice; for

for he Reſted not there, but long enjoyed her favour: and therewith much what he liſted, till Time and Emulation (the companions of great ones) had reſolved on his Period, and to cover him at his ſetting in a cloud at *Cornbury* not by ſo violent a death, and by the fatal Sentence of Judicature, as that of his Fathers and Grandfathers was; but as it is ſuggeſted, by that Poiſon whi h he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare Artiſt. I am not bound to give cred t to all vulgar Relations, or to the Libels of the Times, which are commonly forced, and falſified ſuitable to the Moods and Humours of Men in Paſſion and diſcontent: But that which leads me to think him no good Man, is amongſt others of known truth, that of my Lord of *Eſſex* death in *Ireland*, and the Marriage of his Lady yet living, which I forbear to preſs, in regard that he is long ſince dead, and others living whom it may concern.

To take him in the obſervations of his Letters and Writings (which ſhould beſt ſet him off) for ſuch as tell into my hands, I never yet ſaw a ſtyle or phraſe more ſeeming Religious, and fuller of the ſtreams of Devotion; and were they not ſincere, I doubt much of his well-being; and I may fear he was too well ſeen in the Aphoriſms and Principles of *Nicholas* the *Florentine*, and in the Reaches of

Cæſar

Cæsar Borgia. Hitherto I have touched him in his Courtship; I conclude him in his Lance. He was sent Governour by the Queen to the United States of *Holland*; where we read not of his wonders; for they say that he had more of *Mercury* than of *Mars*; and that his device might have been, without prejudice to the Great *Cæsar*, *Veni, vidi, redii.*

Sussex.

His Corrival before mentioned, was *Thomas Radcliffe* Earl of *Sussex*, who in his Constellation was his Direct Opposite; for he was indeed one of the Queen's Martialists, and did very good service in *Ireland* at her first Accession, till she Recalled him to the Court, where she made him Lord *Chamberlain*; but he Played not his Game with that Cunning and Dexterity as *Leicester* did, who was much the more Facete Courtier, though *Sussex* was thought much the Honester Man, and far the Better Souldier: but he lay too open on his Guard.

He was a goodly Gentleman, and of a brave Noble nature, True & Constant to his Friends and Servants: He was also of a very Noble and

and Ancient Lineage, honoured through many Deſcents by the Title of Viſcounts *Fitzwalters.* Moreover, there was ſuch an Antipathy in his nature to that of *Leiceſter*'s, that being together in Court, and Both in high Imployments, they grew to a direct Frowardneſs, and were in continual Oppoſition; the one ſetting the Watch, the other the Sentinel, Each on the Others Actions and Motions; for my Lord of *Suſſex* was of a great ſpirit, which, Backt with the Queen's ſpecial favour, and Supported by a Great and Ancient Inheritance, could not brook the others Empire: Inſomuch as the Queen, upon ſundry occaſions, had ſomewhat to do to Appeaſe them, until death parted the competition, and left the place to *Leiceſter*, who was not long alone without his Rival in Grace and Command. And to conclude this Favourite: it is Confidently Affirmed, that lying in his laſt ſickneſs, he gave this Caveat to his Friends: I am now paſſing into another World, and I muſt now leave you to your Fortunes, and to the Queen's Grace and Goodneſs: but beware of the Gipſie, meaning *Leiceſter*, for he will be too Hard for you all, you know not the Beaſt ſo well as I do.

Lord

Lord *Burleigh.*

I Now come to the next, which was Secretary *William Cecil*; For on the death of the old Marquess of *Wincheſter*, he came up in his room. A Perſon of a moſt Subtile and Active ſpirit, who, though he ſtood not altogether by the way of Conſtellation, and making up of a Party and Faction, for he was wholly attentive to the ſervice of his Miſtriſs, and his Dexterity, Experience, and Merit Challenged a room in the Queen's favour, which Eclipſed the others overſeeming Greatneſs, and made it appear, that there were others that Steered and Stood at the Helm beſides Himſelf, and more Stars in the Firmament of her Grace than *Urſa major*, or the Bear with the Ragged Staff.

He was born, as they ſay, in *Lincolnſhire*; but as ſome upon knowledge Averr, of a younger Brother of the *Cecils* of *Hartfordſhire*, a Family (of mine own knowledge) though now private, yet of no mean Antiquity. Who being expoſed, and ſent to the City, as poor Gentlemen uſe to do their younger Sons; he came to be a Rich man on *London bridge*; and purchaſing in *Lincolnſhire*, where this man

man was born, he was ſent to *Cambridge*, then to the Inns of Court, and ſo he came to ſerve the Duke of *Somerſet* in the time of his Protectorſhip as Secretary; and having a Pregnancy to Great Inclinations, he came by degrees to a higher Converſation with the Chiefeſt Affairs of State and Councels: but on the fall of the Duke he ſtood ſome years in umbrage, and without Imployment, till the State found and needed his Abilities: and though we find not that he was taken into any place, during *Mary*'s Reign, unleſs (as ſome have ſaid) towards the laſt; yet the Council, on ſeveral occaſions, made uſe of him, and at the Queen's entrance he was Admitted Secretary of State, afterwards he was made Maſter of the Court of Wards, then Lord Treaſurer: A perſon of moſt exquiſite Abilities. And indeed the Queen began then to need, and to ſeek out for Men of both Garbs, and ſo I conclude, and rank this great Inſtrument of State amongſt the *Togati*, for he had not to do with the Sword, more than as the great Pay-maſter, and Contriver of War, which ſhortly followed, wherein he Accompliſhed much through his Theorical knowledge at home, and Intelligence abroad, by unlocking the Councels of the Queens Enemies.

We muſt now take (and that of truth) into obſervation, That until the 10*th* of her Reign her

her Times were Calm and Serene, though ſometimes a little over-caſt, as the moſt Glorious Sun-riſings are ſubject to ſhadowings and droppings. For the Clouds of *Spain*, and Vapours of the Holy League, began then to Diſperſe and Threaten her Serenity; Moreover, ſhe was then to provide againſt ſome Inteſtine Storms, which began to gather in the very heart of her Kingdom; all which had a Relation and Correſpondency each with other, to Dethrone her, and to Diſturb the publick Tranquility, and therewithal (as a principal work) the Eſtabliſhed Religion; for the name of Recuſant began then, and firſt to be known to the World, and till then the Catholicks were no more than Church-Papiſts; but were commanded by the Pope's Expreſs Letters to Appear, and Forbear Church-going, as they tender their Holy Father, and the Holy Catholick Church their Mother: ſo that it ſeems the Pope had then his Times to take a true Muſter of his Children; but the Queen had the greater Advantage, for ſhe likewiſe took Tale of her Apoſtate Subjects, their Strength, and how many they were that had given up their Names unto *Baal*. He then by the Hands of ſome of his Proſelytes, fixed his *Bulls* on the Gates of *Paul*'s, which Diſcharged her Subjects of all fidelity, and laid ſiege to the received Faith, and ſo under the veil

veil of the next Succeſſor, to Replant the Catholick Religion; ſo that the Queen had then a new Task and Work in hand, that might well awake her beſt Providence, and required a Muſter of Men and Arms, as well as Courtſhips and Councels; for the Times began to be Quick and Active, and fitter for ſtronger Motions, than thoſe of the Carpet; and it will be a true note of her Magnanimity, that ſhe loved a Souldier, and had a Propenſion in her nature to Regard, and always to Grace them: which the Courtiers taking into obſervation, took it as an invitation to win Honour, together with her Majeſties Favour, by expoſing themſelves to the Wars; eſpecially, when the Queens and the Affairs of the Kingdom ſtood in ſome Neceſſity of a Souldier: For we have many inſtances of the Sallies of the Nobility and Gentry; yea, and out of the Court, and her Privy Favourites (that had any touch or tincture of *Mars* in their inclinations) and to ſteal away without Licenſe, and the Queen's privity, which had like to have coſt ſome of them dear; ſo predominant were their Thoughts and Hopes of Honour growing in them; as we may truly obſerve in the diſpoſitions of Sir *Philip Sidney*, my Lord of *Eſſex*, *Mountjoy*, and divers others, whoſe Abſence, and the Manner of their Eruptions was very Diſtaſtful to her: whereof I can here add a true

a True, and no Impertinent Story, and that of the laſt *Mountjoy*; who having twice or thrice ſtoln away into *Britain* (where under Sir *John Norris* he had then a Company) without the Queen's leave and privity; ſhe ſent a Meſſenger unto him, with a ſtrict charge to the General to ſee him ſent home: when he came into the Queen's Preſence, ſhe fell into a kind of Reviling, Demanding how he durſt go over without her leave; Serve me ſo (quoth ſhe) once more, and I will lay you Faſt enough for Running; You will never leave it until you are knockt on the head, as that inconſiderate Fellow *Sidney* was; You ſhall Go when I ſend you, in the mean Time ſee that you lodge in the Court (which was then at *White-Hall*) where you may follow your Book, Read and Diſcourſe of the Wars.

But to our purpoſe: It fell out happily to Thoſe, and (as I may ſay) to Thoſe Times, That the Queen, during the Calm of her Reign, was not idle, nor rockt aſleep with Security; for ſhe had been very Provident in the Reparation and Augmentation of her Shipping and Ammunition: and I know not whether by a fore-ſight of *Policy*, or an *Inſtinct*, it came about, or whether it was an Act of her Compaſſion; but it is moſt certain, That ſhe ſent Levies, and no ſmall Troops to the aſſiſtance of the Revolted States of *Holland*, before ſhe had received

received any Affront from the King of *Spain*, that might Deserve, or Tend to a breach in Hostility; which the Papists to this day Maintain, was the Provocation and Cause of the after-wars: but omitting what might be said to this point, those Netherland wars were the King's Seminaries, and the Nurseries of very many Brave Souldiers; and so were likewise the Civil Wars of *France* (whither she sent five several Armies) the French-Schools that inured the Youth and Gallantry of the Kingdom, and it was a *Militia* wherein they were daily in acquaintance with the discipline of the *Spaniards*, who were then turned the Queen's Inveterate Enemies.

And this have I taken into observation of her *Dies Halcyonii*, those years of hers which were more Serene and Quiet than those that followed; which though they were not less propitious, as being Touched more with the point of Honour and Victory, yet were they Troubled, and ever Clouded over both with Domestick and Foreign Machinations; and it is already quoted, they were such as awakened her Spirits, and made her cast about how to Defend, rather by Offending, and by the way of diverting to Prevent all Invasions, than to Expect them, which was a piece of Policy of the times: and with this I have noted the causes or *Principia* of the Wars following, and

and likewiſe pointed to the Seed-plots from whence ſhe took up thoſe Brave Men, and Plants of Honour, which Acted on the Theatre of *Mars*, and on whom ſhe diſperſed the Rayes of her Grace, which were Perſons in their kinds of Rare Vertues, and ſuch as might (out of height of Merit) pretend intereſt to her Favour; of which rank, the number will equal, if not exceed that of the Gown-men. In recount of whom, I proceed with Sir *Philip Sidney*.

Sir *Philip Sidney*.

HE was Son to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and Preſident of *Wales*; a Perſon of Great Parts, and in no Mean Grace with the Queen; his Mother was Siſter to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, from whence we may conjecture, how the Father ſtood up in the place of Honour and Imployment, ſo that his Deſcent was Apparently Noble on both ſides: For his Education it was ſuch as Travel, and the Univerſity could afford, or his Tutors infuſe; for after an incredible Proficiency in all the ſpecies of Learning; he left the Academical life, for that of the

the Court, whither he came by his Uncle's Invitation, famed afore-hand by a Noble Report of his Accompliſhments, which together with the ſtate of his Perſon, framed by a Natural Propenſion to Arms, he ſoon Attracted the good opinion of all men, and was ſo highly prized in the good opinion of the Queen, that ſhe thought the Court Deficient without him: And whereas (through the fame of his Deſerts) he was in the Election for the Kingdom of *Poland*, ſhe refuſed to further his Advancement, not out of Emulation, but out of Fear to loſe the jewel of her Times: He married the daughter and ſole heir of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, then Secretary of State, a Lady deſtinated to the Bed of Honour, who (after his Deplorable death at *Zutphen* in the *Netherlands*, where he was Governour of *Vitiſhing* at the time of his Uncle's being there) was married to my Lord of *Eſſex*, and ſince his death to my Lord of Saint *Albans*, all perſons of the ſword, and otherwiſe of Great Honour and Vertue.

They have a very quaint and facetious figment of him, That *Mars* and *Mercury* fell at Variance whoſe ſervant he ſhoul be. And there is an *Epigrammiſt* that ſaith, that Art and Nature had ſpent their Excellencies in his faſhioning; and fearing they ſhould not end what they begun, they beſtowed him on For-

tune, and Nature ſtood Muſing and Amazed to behold her own work; but theſe are the fictions of Poets.

Certain it is, He was a Noble and Matchleſs Gentleman, and it may be juſtly ſaid without Hyperboles of fiction, as it was of *Cato Uticenſis*, That he ſeemed to be born to that only which he went about, *Verſatilis ingenii*, as *Plutarch* hath it. But to ſpeak more of him, were to make him leſs.

Sir *Fra. Walſingham.*

SIr *Francis Walſingham* (as we have ſaid) had the honour to be Sir *Philip Sidney's* Father in Law: He was a Gentleman (at firſt) of a Good Houſe, but of better Education, and from the Univerſity Travelled for the reſt of his Learning. He was doubtleſs the Beſt Linguiſt of the times, but knew beſt how to uſe his own Tongue, whereby he came to be employed in the Chiefeſt Affairs of State. He was ſent Ambaſſadour into *France*, and ſtayed there a *Leiger* long, in the heat of the Civil wars, and at the ſame time that Mounſieur was here a Suitor to the Queen; and if I be not miſtaken, he played the very ſame part there, as ſince *Gundamore* did here: At his return

return, he was taken Principal Secretary, and was one of the Great Engines of State, and of the times, high in the Queen's Favour, and a watchful ſervant over the ſafety of his Miſtreſs.

They note him to have had certain Curioſities, and Secret ways of Intelligence above the reſt: But I muſt confeſs I am to ſeek wherefore he ſuffered *Parry* to play ſo long on the hook, before he hoyſed him up; and I have been a little curious in the ſearch thereof, though I have not to do with the *Arcana Imperii*. For to know is ſometimes a burthen; and I remember that it was *Ovid's crimen aut error*, That he ſaw too much. But I hope theſe are Collaterals of no danger. But that *Parry* intending to kill the Queen, made the way of his Acceſs by betraying of others, and impeaching of the Prieſts of his own correſpondency, and thereby had Acceſs and Conference with the Queen, and alſo oftentimes familiar and private Conference with *Walſingham*, will not be the Quære of the myſtery; for the Secretary might have had his end of diſcovery on a further Maturity of the Treaſon: but that after the Queen knew *Parry*'s intent, why ſhe ſhould then admit Him to Private Diſcourſe, and *Walſingham* to ſuffer it, conſidering the condition of all Aſſailings, and permit him to go where and whither he liſted,

and onely on the ſecurity of a dark ſentinel ſet over him, was a piece of Reach and Hazard beyond my Apprehenſion.

I muſt again profeſs, That having read many of his Letters (for they are commonly ſent to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, and *Burleigh*, out of *France*) containing many fine paſſages and ſecrets; yet if I might have been beholding to his Cyphers, whereof they are full, they would have told Pretty Tales of the times. But I muſt now cloſe up, and rank him amongſt the *Togati*, yet chief of thoſe that laid the foundation of the *Dutch* and *French* Wars, which was another piece of his fineneſs, and of the times: with one obſervation more, That he was one of the Great Allies of the *Auſtrian* Embracements: For both himſelf, and *Stafford* that preceded him, might well have been compared to the Fiend in the Goſpel, that ſowed his tares in the night; ſo did they their ſeeds of diviſion in the dark. And it is a likely report that they father on him, at his return, That he ſaid unto the Queen, with ſome ſenſibility of the Spaniſh deſigns on *France*: Madam, I beſeech you be content not to fear; The *Spaniard* hath a great Appetite, and an Excellent Digeſtion, but I have fitted him with a bone for this Twenty years, that your Majeſty ſhall have no cauſe to doubt him; provided that if the fire chance

chance to ſlack which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and now and then caſt in ſome Engliſh fewel, which will revive the flame.

Willoughby.

MY Lord *Willoughby* was one of the Queen's firſt Sword-men: He was of the Ancient Extract of the *Bartues*, but more ennobled by his Mother, who was Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*.

He was a great Maſter of the Art Military; and was ſent General into *France*, and commanded the Second of Five Armies that the Queen ſent thither in aid of the *French*. I have heard it ſpoken, that had he not ſlighted the Court, but Applyed himſelf to the Queen, he might have enjoyed a plentiful portion of her Grace: And it was his ſaying, (and it did him no good) That he was none of the *Reptilia*, intimating, that he could not creep on the ground, and that the Court was not in his Element; for indeed, as he was a Great Souldier, ſo was he of a Suitable Magnanimity, and could not brook the Obſequiouſneſs and Aſſiduity of the Court; and as he then was ſomewhat deſcending from youth,

happily he had an *animam revertendi*, and to make a ſafe Retreat.

Sir *Nicholas Bacon.*

I Come to another of the *Togati*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, An arch-piece of Wit and Wiſdom. He was a Gentleman, and a man of Law, and of great knowledge therein; whereby, together with his other parts of Learning and Dexterity, he was promoted to be Keeper of the Great Seal: and being of kin to the Treaſurer *Burleigh*, had alſo the help of his hand to bring him into the Queen's favour; for he was abundantly factious, which took much with the Queen, when it was ſuited with the ſeaſon, as he was well able to judge of his times. He had a very quaint ſaying, and he uſed it often to good purpoſe; That he loved the jeſt well, but not the loſs of his Friend. He would ſay, That though he knew *Unuſquiſque ſuæ fortunæ faber*, was a true and good principle; yet the moſt in number were thoſe that marred themſelves. But I will never forgive that man, that loſeth himſelf, to be rid of his jeſt.

He

He was Father to that Refined Wit, which ſince hath acted a diſaſtrous part on the publick ſtage, and of late ſat in his Father's room as Lord Chancellour. Thoſe that lived in his age, and from whence I have taken this little Model of him, gives him a lively Character; and they decypher him for another *Solon*, and the *Synon* of thoſe times. ſuch a one as *Oedipus* was in diſſolving of Riddles. Doubtleſs he was as able an Inſtrument; and it was his commendation, that his head was the Mawl (for it was a great one) and therein he kept the Wedge that entred the knotty pieces that came to the Table. And now I muſt again fall back to ſmooth and plain a way to the reſt that is behind, but not from the purpoſe.

There were about theſe times two Rivals in the Queen's favour; Old Sir *Francis Knowls* Comptroller of the Houſe, and Sir *Henry Norris*, whom ſhe called up at a Parliament to ſit with the Peers in the higher Houſe, as Lord *Norris* of *Ricot*, who had married the daughter and heir of the old Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, a Noble perſon, and to whom in the Queen's adverſity ſhe had been committed to ſafe cuſtody, and from him had received more than ordinary obſervances. Now ſuch was the goodneſs of the Queen's Nature, that ſhe neither forgot good turns received from the Lord *Williams*,

neither was ſhe unmindfull of this Lord *Norris*, whoſe Father, in her Father's time, and in the buſineſs of her Mother, died in a Noble cauſe, and in the juſtification of her innocency.

Lord *Norris.*

MY Lord *Norris* had by this Lady an ample Iſſue, which the Queen highly reſpected: for he had Six Sons and all Martial brave men: The firſt was *William* his eldeſt, and Father to the late Earl of *Berkſhire*; Sir *John*, vulgarly called General *Norris*; Sir *Edward*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Henry*, and *Maximilian*; Men of an haughty courage, and of great experience in the conduct of Military affairs: And to ſpeak in the Character of their merit, they were perſons of ſuch renown and worth, as future times muſt out of duty owe them the debt of an honourable memory.

Knowls.

Knowls.

SIr *Francis Knowls* was ſomewhat of the Queen's affinity, and had likwiſe no incompetent Iſſue; for he had alſo *William* his eldeſt, and ſince Earl of *Banbury*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Robert*, and Sir *Francis*; if I be not a little miſtaken in their names and martialling; and there was alſo the Lady *Lettice*, a Siſter, of theſe, who was firſt Counteſs of *Eſſex*, and after of *Leiceſter*. And theſe were alſo brave men in their times and places; but they were of the Court, and Carpet, not led by the genius of the Camp.

Between theſe two Families, there was (as it falleth out amongſt Great ones, and Competitors for favour) no great correſpondency: and there were ſome ſeeds, either of emulation or diſtruſt caſt between them, which had they not been disjoyned in the reſidence of their perſons, (as it was the fortune of their imployments, the one ſide attending the Court, the other the Pavilion) ſurely they would have broken out into ſome kind of hoſtility, or at leaſt they would have wreſtled one in the other, like Trees incircled with Ivy:

For there was a time when (both theſe Fraternities being met at Court) there paſſed a challenge between them at certain exerciſes, the Queen and the old men being ſpectators, which ended in a flat quarrel amongſt them all. And I am perſwaded (though I ought not to judge) that there were ſome reliques of this feud, that were long after the cauſes of the one Families (almoſt utter) extirpation, and of the others improſperity. For it was a known truth, that ſo long as my Lord of *Leiceſter* lived, who was the main pillar of the one ſide, as having married the Siſter, none of the other ſide took any deep rooting in the Court, though otherwiſe they made their ways to Honour by their ſwords: And that which is of more note, (conſidering my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s uſe of Men of Arms, being ſhortly after ſent Governour to the Revolted States, and no Souldier himſelf) is, that he made no more accompt of Sir *John Norris*, a Soldier then deſervedly famouſed, and trained from a Page, under the diſcipline of the great Captain of Chriſtendom, the Admiral *Caſtilion*, and of Command in the French and Dutch wars almoſt twenty years. It is of further obſervation, that my Lord of *Eſſex* (after *Leiceſter*'s deceaſe) though initiated to Arms, and houred by the General in the *Portugal* expedition, whether out of

inſtigation (as it hath been thought) or out of ambition, and jealouſie to be eclipſed and over-ſhadowed by the fame and ſplendour of this great Commander, loved him not in ſincerity. Moreover, certain it is, he not onely cruſht, and upon all occaſions quell'd the growth of this brave man, and his famous Brethren; but therewith drew on his own fatal end, by undertaking the Iriſh Action, in a time when he left the Court empty of friends and full fraught with his profeſs'd enemies. But I forbear to extend my ſelf in any further relation upon this ſubject; as having left ſome notes of truth in theſe two Noble Families, which I would preſent; and therewith toucht ſomewhat, which I would not, if the equity of the Narration would have admitted an intermiſſion.

Sir *John Perrot.*

SIr *John Perrot* was a goodly Gentleman, and of the Sword: And as he was of a very ancient deſcent, as an heir to many abſtracts of Gentry, eſpecially from *Guy de Bryan*

Bryan of *Lawhern*, ſo was he of a vaſt Eſtate, and came not to the Court for want. And to theſe adjuncts, he had the endowments of courage, and height of ſpirit, had it lighted on the allay of temper and diſcretion; the defect whereof, with a native freedom and boldneſs of ſpeech, drew him on to a clouded ſetting, and laid him open to the ſpleen and advantage of his enemies, amongſt whom Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* was profeſt. He was yet a wiſe man, and a brave Courtier; but rough, and participating more of active than ſedentary motions, as being in his conſtellation deſtinated for Arms. There is a quære of ſome denotations, how he came to receive his foyl, and that in the Cataſtrophe; for he was ſtrengthened with honourable Alliances, and the privy friendſhips of the Court; My Lord of *Leiceſter* and *Burleigh*, both his Contemporaries, and Familiars; but that there might be (as the Adage hath it) falſity in friendſhip; and we may reſt ſatisfied, that there is no diſputing againſt fate.

They quote him for a perſon that loved to ſtand too much alone, and on his own legs, of too often receſſes, and diſcontinuance from the Queen's preſence: A fault which is incompatible with the ways of Court and favour.

He

He was ſent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, (as it was thought) for a kind of haughtineſs of ſpirit; and repugnancy in Councels; or as others have thought, the fitteſt Perſon then to bridle the inſolency of the *Iriſh*; And probable it is, that both theſe (conſidering the ſway that he would have at the Board, and head in the Queen's favour) concurred, and did a little conſpire his remove, and his ruine: But into *Ireland* he went, where he did the Queen very great and many ſervices, if the ſurpluſſage of the meaſure did not abate the value of the merit; as afterwards found that to be no paradox: For to ſave the Queen's purſe, (which both her ſelf, and my Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, ever took for good ſervices) he impoſed on the *Iriſh* the charge of bearing their own arms; which both gave them the poſſeſſion, and taught them the uſe of weapons; which proved in the end a moſt fatal work, both in the profuſion of blood and treaſure.

But at his return, and on ſome account ſent home before touching the ſtate of the Kingdom, the aſſiduous teſtimonies of her grace were towards him; till by his retreat to his Caſtle at *Cary*, where he was then building, and out of deſire to be in command at home, (as he had been abroad together with the hatred and practice of *Hatton*, then

in

in high favour; whom not long before he had too bitterly taunted for his Dancing. He was accuſed of High Treaſon, and for high Words, and a forged Letter, Condemned; though the Queen, on the News of his Condemnation, Swore by her wonted Oath, That they were all Knaves. And they deliver with aſſurance, That on his return to the Tower, after his Trial, he ſaid in Oaths, and in Fury, to the Lieutenant Sir *Owen Hopton*, What, will the Queen ſuffer her Brother to be offered up as a Sacrifice to the Envy of my Friſking Adverſaries? Which being made known to the Queen, and the Warrant for his Execution tendered, and ſomewhat entorced; ſhe refuſed to Sign it, and Swore he ſhould not die, for he was an honeſt & a faithful Man. And ſurely, though not altogether to ſet up our reſt and faith upon Tradition, and upon old Reports, as that Sir *Thomas Perrot* his Father was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to *Henry* the Eighth, and in the Court married a Lady of Great Honour, of the King's Familiarity, which are preſumptions of ſome implication: But if we go a little further, and compare his Picture, his Qualities, Geſture, and Voice, with that of the King's, which memory retains yet amongſt us, they will plead ſtrongly, that he was a Subreptitious Child of the Blood Royal.

Cer-

Certain it is, that he lived not long in the Tower; and that after his deceaſe, Sir *Thomas Perrot* his Son (then of no mean eſteem with the Queen) having before married my Lord of *Eſſex*'s Siſter, ſince Counteſs of *Northumberland*, had reſtitution of all his Lands; though after his deceaſe alſo (which immediately followed) the Crown reſumed his Eſtate, and took the advantage of the former Attainder. And to ſay the truth, the Prieſt's Forged Letter was, at his Arraignment, thought but a Fiction of Envy, and was ſoon after exploded by the Prieſt's own confeſſion. But that which moſt exaſperated the Queen, and gave advantage to his Enemies, was (as Sir *Walter Raleigh* takes into his obſervation) words of diſdain. For the Queen, by ſharp and reprehenſive Letters, had netled him; and ſhortly after ſending others of approbation, commending his Service, and intimating an Invaſion from *Spain*; which he no ſooner peruſed, but he ſaid publickly in the Great Chamber at *Dublin*; Lo, now ſhe is ready to Piſs her ſelf for fear of the *Spaniard*, I am again one of her White-boys.

Words which are ſubject to a various conſtruction, and tended to ſome diſreputation of his Soveraign: and ſuch as may ſerve for inſtruction to perſons in place of honor and command, to beware of the violences of nature,

nature, but especially of the exorbitances of the tongue. And so I conclude him with this double observation, The one of the innocency of his intentions, exempt and clear from the guilt of treason and disloyalty; The other, of the greatness of his heart: For at his arraignment, he was so little dejected by what might be alledged and proved against him, that he rather grew troubled with choler, and in a kind of exasperation despised his Jury, though of the Order of Knighthood, and of the special Gentry, claiming the privilege of trial by the Peers and Baronage of the Realm: so prevalent was that of his native Genius, and the hautiness of his spirit, which accompanied him to his last, and till (without any diminution of courage) it brake in pieces the cords of his magnanimity, for he died suddenly in the Tower, and when it was thought the Queen did intend his enlargment, with the restitution of his possessions which were then very great, and comparable to most of the Nobility.

Hatton

Hatton.

SIR *Chriſtopher Hatton* came into the Court as his oppoſite; Sir *John Perrot*, was wont to ſay by the Galliard, for he came thither as a private Gentleman of the Inns of Court in a Mask; and for his activity and Perſon, which was tall and proportionable, taken into Favour: he was firſt made Vice-Chamberlain, and ſhortly afterward advanced to the place of Lord Chancellor: a Gentleman, that beſides the graces of his Perſon, and Dancing, had alſo the adjectaments of a ſtrong and ſubtil capacity, one that could ſoon learn the diſcipline and garb both of the times and Court; the truth is, he had a large proportion of gifts and endowments, but too much of the ſeaſon of Envy; and he was a meer vegetable of the Court, that ſprung up at night, and ſunk again at his noon.

Lord

Lord *Effingham.*

MY Lord of *Effingham*, though a Courtier betimes, yet I find not, that the Sun-ſhine of her Favour broke out upon him, until ſhe took him into the Ship, and made him High-Admiral of *England.* For his extract, it may ſuffice, that he was the Son of a *Howard*, and of a Duke of *Norfolk:* And as for his Perſon, as goodly a Gentleman as the Times had any; if Nature had not been more intentive to compleat his Perſon, than Fortune to make him rich: For the times conſidered, which were then active, and a long time after lucrative, he died not wealthy, yet the honeſter man; though it ſeems the Queen's purpoſe was to tender the occaſion of his advancement, and to make him capable of more Honour; which at his return from *Cardize*-Accounts ſhe conferred on him, creating him Earl of *Nottingham*; to the great diſcontent of his Colleague, my Lord of *Eſſex*, who then grew exceſſive in the appetite of her favour; and, in truth, was ſo exorbitant in the limitation of the Soveraign aſpect, that it much alienated the Queen's grace

grace from him, and drew others together with the Admiral to a combination, and to conſpire his ruine. And though I have heard it from that party, (I mean of the Admirals faction) that it lay not in his proper power to hurt my Lord of *Eſſex*, yet he had more Followers, and ſuch as were well skilled in ſetting of the Gyn. But I leave this to thoſe of another Age.

It is out of doubt, that the Admiral was a good, honeſt, and a brave Man, and a faithful ſervant to his Miſtriſs, and ſuch a one as the Queen, out of her own Princely Judgment, knew to be a fit Inſtrument for that ſervice, for ſhe was no ill Proficient in the Reading of Men, as well as Books; and his ſundry expeditions, as that aforementioned, and 88. doth both expreſs his worth, and manifeſt the Queen's Truſt, and the opinion ſhe had of his Fidelity and Conduct.

Moreover, the *Howards* were of the Queen's Alliance, and Conſanguinity by her Mother, which ſwayed her Affection, and bent it toward this Great Houſe; and it was a part of her Natural Propenſion, to Grace and Support Ancient Nobility, where it did not intrench, neither invade her Intereſt; for on ſuch treſpaſſes ſhe was quick and tender, and would not ſpare any whatſoever, as

as we may obſerve in the caſe of the Duke, and my Lord of *Hereford*, whom ſhe much favoured and countenanced, till they attempted the Forbidden Fruit; The fault of the laſt, being in the ſevereſt interpretation but a treſpaſs of incroachment; But in the firſt, it was taken for a Riot againſt the Crown, and her own Soveraign power: and as I have ever thought, the cauſe of her averſion againſt the reſt of the Houſe, and the Duke's great Father-in-law *Fitz Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, a perſon of the firſt rank in her affections, before theſe; and ſome other jealouſies, made a ſeparation between them; this Noble Lord, and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, ſince Earl of *Suffolk*, ſtanding alone in her Grace, the reſt in Umbrage.

Sir

Sir *John Packington.*

SIr *John Packington* was a Gentleman of no mean family, and of form and feature no way deſpiſable; for he was a brave Gentleman, and a very fine Courtier; and for the time he ſtayed there, (which was not laſting) very high in her grace; but he came in, and went out, and through diſaſſiduity, drew the Curtain between himſelf and the light of her grace; and then death overwhelmed the remnant, and utterly deprived him of recovery: And they ſay of him, that had he brought leſs to the Court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought; for he had a time on it, but an ill husband of opportunity.

Lord

Lord *Hunſdon.*

MY Lord of *Hunſdon* was of the Queen's neareſt Kindred; and on the deceaſe of *Suſſex*, both he and his Son took the place of Lord Chamberlain; he was a faſt Man to his Prince, and firm to his Friends and Servants; and though he might ſpeak big, and therein would be born out, yet was he not the more dreadful, but leſs harmful, and far from the practice of my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Inſtructions, for he was downright; and I have heard thoſe that both knew him well, and had intereſt in him, ſay merrily of him, that his Latin and his Diſſimulation were both alike; and that his cuſtom of Swearing, and obſcenity in Speaking, made him ſeem a worſe Chriſtian than he was, and a better Knight of the Carpet than he ſhould be: As he lived in a ruffling time, ſo he loved Sword and Buckler Men, and ſuch as our Fathers were wont to call Men of their hands; of which ſort he had many brave Gentlemen that followed him; yet not taken for a popular and dangerous Perſon. And this is one that ſtood amongſt the *Togati*, of an honeſt ſtout heart,

heart, and ſuch a one (as upon occaſion) would have fought for his Prince, and his Country, for he had the charge of the Queen's Perſon, both in the Court, and the Camp at *Tilbury*.

Raleigh.

SIR *Walter Raleigh* was one, that (it ſeems) Fortune had pickt out of purpoſe, of whom to make an Example, or to uſe as her Tennis-Ball, thereby to ſhew what ſhe could doe; for ſhe toſt him up of nothing, and too and fro to Greatneſs, and from thence down to little more than to that wherein ſhe found him, (a bare Gentleman.) Not that he was leſs, for he was well-deſcended, and of good alliance, but poor in his beginnings; and for my Lord of *Oxford*'s Jeſt of him, (the Jack, and an Upſtart) we all know, it ſavours more of Emulation, and his Humour, than of Truth; and it is a certain Note of the Times, that the Queen in her Choice, never took into her Favour a meer New Man, or a Mechanick, as *Comines* obſerves of *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, who did ſerve himſelf with Perſons of unknown Parents; ſuch

ſuch as was *Oliver* the Barber, whom he created Earl of *Dunoyes*, and made him *ex ſecretis conſiliis*, and alone in his favour and familiarity.

His approaches to the Univerſity and Inns of Court, were the grounds of his improvement; but they were rather excurſions, than ſieges or ſettings down, for he ſtayed not long in a place; and being the youngeſt Brother, and the Houſe diminiſhed in Patrimony, he foreſaw his own deſtiny; that he was firſt to rowl (through want and diſability to ſubſiſt otherways) before he could come to a repoſe, and as the Stone doth, by long lying, gather Moſs: He firſt expoſed himſelf to the Land ſervice of *Ireland*, a *Militia* which then did not yield him food and rayment, (for it was ever very poor) nor had he patience to ſtay there, though ſhortly after he came thither again under the Command of my Lord *Gray*; but with his own Colours flying in the field; having, in the interim, caſt a new chance, both in the Low-Countries, and in a Voyage to Sea; and if ever Man drew Vertue out of Neceſſity, it was he: therewith was he the great example of Induſtry, and, though he might then have taken that of the Merchant to himſelf, *Per mare, per terras, currit mercator ad Indos*, He might alſo have ſaid, and truly with the Philoſopher, *Omnia mea mecum porto*;

porte; for it was a long time before he could brag of more than he carried at his back; and when he got on the winning ſide, it was his commendations, that he took pains for it, and underwent many various adventures for his after-perfection, and before he came into the publick note of the World: And that it may appear how he came up (*Per ardua*) *Per varios caſus, per tot diſcrimina rerum*, not pulled up by chance, or by any gentle admittance of Fortune; I will briefly deſcribe his native parts, and thoſe of his own acquiring, which was the hopes of his riſing.

He had in the outward man, a good preſence, in a handſome and well compacted perſon, a ſtrong natural wit, and a better judgment, with a bold and plauſible tongue, whereby he could ſet out his parts to the beſt advantage; and to theſe he had the adjuncts of ſome generall Learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great augmentation, and perfection; for he was an indefatigable Reader, whether by Sea or Land, and none of the leaſt obſervers both of men and the times; and I am confident, that among the ſecond cauſes of his growth, that variance between him, and my Lord *Grey*, in his deſcent into *Ireland*, was a principal; for it drew them both

over the Council Table, there to plead heir cauſe, where (what advantage he had in the cauſe, I know not) but he had much better in the telling of his tale; and ſo much, that the Queen and the Lord's took no ſlight mark of the man, and his parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to have acceſs to the Queen, and the Lords; and then we are not to doubt how ſuch a man would comply, and learn the way of progreſſion. And whether *Leiceſter* had then caſt in a good word for him to the Queen, which would have done no harm, I do not determine: But true it is, He had gotten the Queen's ear at a trice, and ſhe began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reaſons to her demands: and the truth is, ſhe took him for a kind of Oracle, which netled them all; yea, thoſe that he relied on, began to take his ſudden favour for an Alarm, and to be ſenſible of their own ſupplantation, and to project his, which made him ſhortly after ſing, *Fortune my foe*, &c. So that finding his favour declining, and falling into a receſs, he undertook a new peregrination, to leave that *Terra infirma* of the Court, for that of the Wars, and by declining himſelf, and by abſence, to expel his, and the paſſion of his enemies, which in Court was a ſtrange device of recovery, but that he knew there was

ſome

ſome ill office done him, that he durſt not attempt to mind any other ways, than by going aſide; thereby to teach envy a new way of forgetfulneſs, and not ſo much as to think of him; howſoever, he had it always in mind, never to forget himſelf; and his device took ſo well, that at his return he came in (as Rams do, by going backward) with the greater ſtrength; and ſo continued to her laſt; great in her grace, and Captain of the Guard, where I muſt leave him; but with this obſervation, That though he gained much at the Court, yet he took it not out of the Exchequer, or meerly out of the Queen's purſe, but by his wit, and the help of the Prerogative; for the Queen was never profuſe in the delivering out of her treaſure, but payed many, and moſt of her ſervants part in money, and the reſt with grace, which as the caſe ſtood, was taken for good payment, leaving the Arrear of recompence due to their merit, to her great Succeſſor, who payed them all with advantage.

Grevil.

SIR *Foulk Grevil*, ſince Lord *Brook*, had no mean place in her favour, neither did he hold it for any ſhort term, for if I be not deceived, he had the longeſt leaſe, and the ſmootheſt time without rub, of any of her Favourites. He came to the Court in his youth and prime, for that is the time, or never; He was a brave Gentleman, and honourably deſcended, from *William* Lord *Brook*, and Admiral to *Henry* the ſeventh. Neither illiterate; for he was, as he would often profeſs, a friend to Sir *Philip Sidney*, and there are of his now extant, ſome fragments of his Poem, and of thoſe times, which do intereſt him in the Muſes; and which ſhews, the Queen's election had ever a noble conduct, and its motions more of verture and judgment, than of fancy.

I find, that he neither ſought for, or obtained any great place or preferment in Court during all the time of his attendance, neither did he need it; for he came thither, backt with a plentiful Fortune, which as himſelf was wont to ſay, was the better held together by a ſingle life, wherein

wherein he lived and dyed a constant Courtier of the Ladies.

Essex.

MY Lord of *Essex* (as Sir *Henry Wotton* a Gentleman of great parts, and parly of his time and retinue, observes) had is introduction by my Lord of *Leicester*, who had married his Mother, a tie of affinity; which, besides a more urgent obligation, might have invited his care to advance him, his Fortune being then (and through his Fathers infelicity) grown low. But that the son of a Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Viscount *Hartford*, and Earl of *Essex*, who was of the ancient Nobility) and formerly in the Queen's good grace, could not have room in her favour without the assistance of *Leicester*, was beyond the rule of her nature, which as I have elsewhere taken into observation, was ever inclinable to favour the Nobility: Sure it is, That he no sooner appeared in Court, but he took with the Queen and Courtiers; and I believe, they all could not choose but look through the Sacrifice of the Father, on his living Son, whose

image by the remembrance of former paſſages, was afreſh (like the bleeding of men murdered) repreſented to the Court, and offered up as a ſubject of compaſſion to all the Kingdom. There was in this young Lord, together with a moſt goodly Perſon, a kind of urbanity or innate courteſie, which both won the Queen, and too much took upon the people, to gaze upon the new adopted Son of her favour.

And as I go along, it were not amiſs to take into obſervation two notable quotations. The firſt was, a violent indulgency of the Queen (which is incident to old age, where it encounters with a pleaſing and ſuitable object) towards this Lord; all which argued a non-perpetuity: The ſecond was, a fault in the Object of her grace, my Lord himſelf, who drew in too faſt, like a child ſucking an over-uberous Nurſe; and had there been a more decent decorum obſerved in both, or either of thoſe, without doubt the unity of their affections had been more permanent, and not ſo in and out as they were, like an Inſtrument ill tuned, and lapſing to diſcord.

The greater errour of the two (though unwillingly) I am conſtrained to impoſe on my Lord of *Eſſex*, or rather on his youth; and none of the leaſt of his blame on thoſe

that

that ſtood Sentinels about him, who might have adviſed him better, but that like men intoxicated with hopes, they likewiſe had ſuckt in with the moſt, and of their Lords receipt, and ſo like *Cæſar*'s, would have all or none; A rule quite contrary to nature, and the moſt indulgent Parents, who, though they may expreſs more affection to one in the abundance of bequeſts, yet cannot forget ſome Legacies, juſt diſtributives, and dividends to others of their begetting: And how hateful partiality proves, every days experience tells us, out of which common conſideration might have framed to their hands a maxim of more diſcretion for the conduct and management of their now graced Lord and Maſter.

But to omit that of Infuſion, and to doe right to truth: My Lord of *Eſſex*, (even of thoſe that truly loved and honoured him) was noted for too bold an Ingroſſer both of fame and favour; And of this (without offence to the living, or treading on the Sacred Urne of the Dead) I ſhall preſent a Truth, and a paſſage yet in memory.

My Lord *Mounjoy*, (who was another Child of her favour) being newly come to Court, and then but Sir *Charles Blunt*, (for my Lord *William*, his elder brother, was then living) had the good fortune one day to run

very well a Tilt; and the Queen therewith was so well pleased, that she sent him in Token of her Favour, a Queen at *Chesse*, of Gold, Richly Enamelled, which his Servants had the next day fastned on his Arme with a Crimson Ribband; which my Lord of *Essex*, as he passed through the Privy Chamber, espying, with his Cloak cast under his Arme, the better to commend it to the view, enquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed? Sir *Foulk Grevil* told him, That it was the Queen's Favour, which the day before, and after the Tilting, she had sent him; whereat my Lord of *Essex*, in a kind of Emulation, and as though he would have limitted her Favour, said, Now I perceive every Fool must have a Favour.

This bitter and Publick Affront came to Sir *Charles Blunt*'s eare, who sent him a Challenge, which was accepted by my Lord, and they met near *Mary-bone-Park*, where my Lord was hurt in the Thigh, and Disarmed: the Queen missing the Men, was very curious to learn the truth; and when at last it was whispered out, she Swore by God's Death, it was fit that some one or other should take him down, and teach him better Manners, otherwise there would be no rule with him. And here I note,

note the inition of my Lord's Friendſhip with *Mountjoy*, which the Queen her ſelf did conjure.

Now for ſame, we need not goe far; for my Lord of *Eſſex* having born a grudge to General *Norris*, who had (unwittingly) offered to unpertake the Action of *Britain* with fewer men, than my Lord had before demaned: on his return with Victory, and a glorious report of his valour, he was then thought the onely man for the *Iriſh* War; wherein my Lord of *Eſſex* ſo wrought, by deſpiſing the number, and quality of Rebels, that *Norris* was ſent over with a ſcanted force, joyned with the relicks of the veterance Troops of *Britain*, of ſet purpoſe (as it fell out) to ruine *Norris*; and the Lord *Burrowes*, by my Lord's procurement, ſent at his heels, and to command in chief; and to confine *Norris* only to his Goverment at *Munſter*, which brake the great heart of the General, to ſee himſelf undervalued and underminded by my Lord and *Burrowes*, which was as the Proverb ſpeaks it, *Imberbes docere ſenes.*

My Lord *Burrowes*, in the beginning of his proſecution died; whereupon the Queen was fully bent to have ſent over *Mountjoy*, which my Lord of *Eſſex* utterly diſliked, and oppoſed with many reaſons, and by arguments of contempt againſt *Mountjoy*,

his then profeſſed friend and familiar; ſo predominant were his words, to reap the honour of cloſing up that War, and all other.

Now the way being opened and plained by his own workmanſhip, and ſo handled that none durſt appear to ſtand for the place, at laſt with much adoe he obtained his own ends, and with all his fatal deſtruction, leaving the Queen and the Court (where he ſtood firm and impregnable in her grace) to men that long had ſought and watcht their times to give him the trip, and could never find any opportunity but this of his abſence, and of his own Creation. And theſe are the true obſervations of his appetite and inclinations, which were not of any true proportion, but carried and tranſported with an over-deſire and thirſtineſs after fame, and that deceitfull fame of popularity. And to help on his Cataſtrophe, I obſerve likewiſe two ſorts of people that had a hand in his fall; the firſt was the Souldiery, which all flockt unto him, as foretelling a mortality; and are commonly of blunt and too rough Counſels, and many times diſſonant from the time of the Court and the State. The other ſort were of his family, his ſervants, and his own creatures, ſuch as were bound by the rules of ſafety, and obligations of fidelity, to have looked

looked better to the ſteering of that Boat, wherein they themſelves were carried, and not have ſuffered it to float and run on ground, with thoſe empty Sails of Fame and Tumour of popular applauſe. Me thinks one honeſt man or other, that had but the office of bruſhing his clothes, might have whiſpered in his ear, My Lord, look to it, this multitude that follows you, will either devour you, or undoe you; ſtrive not to rule, and over-rule all, for it will coſt hot water, and it will procure envy; and if needs your Genius muſt have it ſo, let the Court, and the Queens preſence be your ſtation. But as I have ſaid, they had ſuckt too much of their Lord's milk, and inſtead of withdrawing, they blew the coals of his ambition, and infuſed into him too much of the ſpirit of glory; yea, and mixed the goodneſs of his nature with a touch of revenge, which is ever accompanied with a deſtiny of the ſame fate. And of this number there were ſome inſufferable Natures about him, that towards his laſt gave deſperate advice, ſuch as his integrity abhorred, and his fidelity forbade; Amongſt whom, Sir *Henry Wotton* notes (without injury) his Secretary *Cuffe* a vile man, and of a perverſe nature: I could alſo name others, that when he was in the right courſe of recovery, and ſetling to moderation,

tion, would not ſuffer a receſs in him, but ſtirred up the dregs of thoſe rude humours, which by time, and his affliction, out of his own judgment he ſought to repoſe; or to give them all a vomit. And thus I conclude this Noble Lord, as a mixture between proſperity and adverſity; once the Child of his great Miſtreſſes favour, but the Son of *Bellona*.

Buckhurſt.

MY Lord of *Buckhurſt* was of the Noble Houſe of the *Sackvils*, and of the Queens conſanguinity; his Father was Sir *Richard Sackvil*, or as the people then called him, Fill-ſack, by reaſon of his great wealth, and the vaſt patrimony which he left to his Son; whereof he ſpent in his youth the beſt part, untill the Queen by her frequent admonitions diverted the torrent of his profuſion. He was a very fine Gentleman of perſon and endowments both of art and nature; but without meaſure magnificent, till on the turn of his humour,

humour, and the allay that his years and good counſels had wrought upon thoſe immoderate courſes of his youth, and that height of ſpirit inherent to his Houſe. And then did the Queen, as a moſt judicious and indulgent Prince, when ſhe ſaw the man grow ſtayed and ſetled, give him her aſſiſtance, and advanced him to the Treaſurſhip, where he made amends to his Houſe for his miſ-ſpent time, both in the increaſement of Eſtate and Honour, which the Queen conferred on him, together with the opportunity to remake himſelf, and thereby to ſhew that this was a Child, that ſhould have a ſhare in her grace, and a taſte of her bounty.

They much commend his Elocution, but more the excellency of his Pen, for he was a Schollar, and a perſon of a quick diſpatch, (Faculties that yet run in the bloud.) And they ſay of him, that his Secretaries did little for him by the way of Inditement, wherein they could ſeldom pleaſe him, he was ſo facete and choice in his Phraſe and Stile: And for his Diſpatches, and the content he gave to Suiters, he had a Decorum ſeldom ſince put in practiſe; for he had of his Attendants that took into Roll the names of all Suiters, which the Date of their firſt Ad-

Addreſſes; and theſe in their Order had hearing; ſo that a freſh man could not leap over his head, that was of a more ancient edition: except in the urgent affairs of State.

I find not, that he was any ways inſnared in the factions of the Court, which were all his times ſtrong, and in every mans note; The *Howards* and the *Cecils* on the one part, My Lord of *Eſſex*, &c. on the other part. For he held the ſtaff of the Treaſury faſt in his hand, which once in the year made them all beholding to him. And the truth is, (as he was a wiſe man, and a ſtout) he had no reaſon to be a partaker; for he ſtood ſure in bloud, and in grace, and was wholly intentive to the Queens ſervice; and ſuch were his abilities, that ſhe received aſſiduous proofs of his ſufficiency; and it hath been thought, that ſhe might have had more cunning inſtruments, but none of a more ſtrong judgment and confidence in his ways, which are ſymptoms of magnanimity and fidelity; whereunto me thinks this Motto hath ſome kind of reference, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice*, As though he would have charactered in a word the Genius of his Houſe, or expreſt ſomewhat of an higher inclination, than lay within his compaſs. That he was a Courtier,

Courtier, is apparent, for he stood always in her eye and favour.

Lord *Mountjoy.*

MY Lord *Mountjoy* was of the ancient Nobility, but utterly deceived in the support thereof, Patrimony, through his Grandfather's excess in the Action of *Bullen*, his Father's vanity in the search of the Philosophers stone, and his Brother's untimely prodigalities; all which seemed by a joynt conspiracy to ruine the House, and altogether to annihilate it.

As he came from *Oxford*, he took the *Inner-Temple* in his way to Court; whither he no sooner came, but (without asking) he had a pretty strange kind of admission, which I have heard from a discreet man of his own, and much more of the secrets of those times. He was then much about twenty years of age, of a brown hair, a sweet face, a most

near

neat Compoſure, and tall in his perſon. The Queen was then at *White-Hall*, and at dinner, whither he came to ſee the faſhion of the Court: the Queen had ſoon found him out, and with a kind of an affected frown, asked the Lady-Carver, What he was? ſhe anſwered, She knew him not; Inſomuch as enquiry was made from one to another, who he might be; till at length it was told the Queen, he was Brother to the Lord *William Mountjoy*. This inquiſition, with the eye of Majeſty fixed upon him, (as ſhe was wont to doe, and to daunt men ſhe knew not) ſtirred the bloud of this young Gentleman, inſomuch, as his colour came and went; which the Queen obſerving, called him unto her, and gave him her hand to kiſs, encouraging him with gravious words, and new looks; and ſo diverting her ſpeech to the Lords and Ladies, ſhe ſaid, That ſhe no ſooner obſerved him, but that ſhe knew there was in him ſome Noble bloud, with ſome other expreſſions of pitty towards his houſe: And then again demanding his name, ſhe ſaid, Fail you not to come to the Court, and I will bethink my ſelf how to doe you good. And this was his inlet, and the beginnings of his grace, Where

it

it falls into consideration, That though he wanted not Wit and Courage, (for he had very fine Attractions, and being a good piece of a Schollar) yet were they accompanied with the retractiveness of bashfulness, and a natural Modesty, which (as the Tone of his House, and the Ebbe of his Fortune then stood) might have hindred his Progression, had they not been re-inforced by the infusion of Soveraign Favour, and the Queen's Gracious Invitation. And that it may appear how low he was, and how much that Heretick Necessity will work in the dejection of good spirits, I can deliver it with assurance, that his exhibition was very scant until his Brother died, which was shortly after his admission to the Court, and then was was it no more than 1000 Marks *per Annum*, wherewith he lived plentifully in a fine way and garb, and without any great Sustentation, during all her Times. And as there was in his nature a kind of backwardness, which did not befriend him, nor suit with the motion of the Court, so there was in him an inclinations to Armes, and a humour of Travelling: which, had not some wise Men about him laboured to remove, and the Queen her self laid in her commands, he would (out of his natural propen-

propenſion) have marred his own market: For as he was grown by reading, (whereunto he was much addicted) to the Theory of a Souldier, ſo was he ſtrongly invited by his Genius, to the acquaintance of the Practick of the War; which were the cauſes of his excurſions; for he had a Company in the Low-Countries, from whence he came over with a Noble acceptance of the Queen; but ſomewhat reſtleſs in honourable thoughts, he expoſed himſelf again and again, and would preſs the Queen with the pretences of viſiting his Company ſo often, that at length he had a flat denial; and yet he ſtole over with Sir *John Norris* into the Action of *Britain*, (which was then a hot and active War) whom he would always call his Father, honouring him above all men, and ever bewailing his end: ſo contrary he was in his eſteem and valuation of this great Commander, to that of his Friend, my Lord of *Eſſex*. Till at laſt, the Queen began to take his Deceſſions for Contempts, and confined his reſidence to the Court, and her own Preſence: And upon my Lord of *Eſſex*'s fall, (ſo confident ſhe was in her own Princely judgment, and opinion ſhe had conceived of his worth and conduct) that ſhe would have this Noble Gentleman, and none other, to finiſh and bring the *Iriſh* War

War to a propitious end: For it was a prophetical Speech of her own, That it would be his fortune, and his honour, to cut the thred of that fatal Rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the Grave. Where she was not deceived; for he atchieved it, but with much pains and carefulness, and not without the fears and many jealousies of the Court and Times, wherewith the Queen's age, and the malignity of her setting times were replete.

And so I come to his dear Friend in Court, Master Secretary *Cecil*, whom, in his long absence from Court he adored as his Saint, and courted for his onely *Mæcenas*, both before and after his departure from Court, and during all the time of his Command in *Ireland*, well knowing that it lay in his power, and by a word of his mouth, to make or marr him.

Cecil

Cecil.

SIR *Robert Cecil*, since Earl of *Salisbury*, was the Son of the Lord *Burleigh*, and the Inheritor of his Wisdom, and, by degrees, Successor of his Places and Favours, though not of his Lands; for he had Sir *Thomas Cecil*, his Elder Brother, since Created Earl of *Exeter*. He was first Secretary of State, then Master of the Wards, and in the last of her Raign came to be Lord Treasurer; all which were the steps of his Father's greatness, and of the Honour he left to his House. For his person, he was not much beholding to Nature, though somewhat for his Face, which was the best part of his outside: but for his inside, it may be said, and without solœcisme, that he was his Father's own Son, and a pregnant proficient in all Discipline of State: He was a Courtier from his Cradle, (which might have

have made him betimes) yet at the Age of Twenty and upwards, he was much short of his after-proof; but exposed, and by change of Climate, he soon made shew what he was, and would be: He lived in those times wherein the Queen had most need, and use of Men of Weight; and amongst able ones, this was a Chief, as having his sufficiency from his Instructions that Begat him, the Tutorship of the Times, and Court, which were then the Academies of Art and Cunning; for such was the Queen's condition from the Tenth or Twelfth of her Raign, that she had the happiness to stand up (whereof there is a former intimation) though invironed with more Enemies, and assaulted with more dangerous Practises, than any Prince of her Times, and of many Ages before. Neither must we, iff this her Preservation, attribute too much to Humane Policies: for that God in his Omnipotent Providence, had not onely ordained those Secondary Meanes, as Instruments of the Work, but by an Evident Manifestation, that the same Work which she acted, was a Well-pleasing Service of his own, out of a peculiar care had decreed the Protection of the Work-Mistriss, and thereunto added his

his abundant blessing upon all, and whatsoever she undertook; which is an observation of satisfaction to my self, that she was in the right; though to others now breathing under the same form, and frame of her Government, it may not seem an Animadversion of any worth: but I leave them to the peril of their own folly.

And so again to this great Master of State, and the Staff of the Queen's declining Age; who, though his little crooked Person could not promise any great supportation, yet it carried thereon a Head, and a Head-piece of a vast content, and therein it seems Nature was so diligent to compleat one, and the best part about him, as that to the perfection of his Memory, and Intellectuals, she took care also of his Sences, and to put him in *Linceos Oculos*, or to pleasure him the more, borrowed of *Argus*, so to give unto him a prospective sight; and for the rest of his sensitive vertues, his Predecessor *Walsingham* had left him a Receit, to smell out what was done in the Conclave; and his good old Father was so well seen in the Mathermaticks, as that he could tell you through all *Spain*, every part, every Ship, with the Burthens, whither bound with preparation, what impedi-

pediments for diverſion of Enterpriſes, Counſels, and Reſolutions. And, that we may ſee (as in a little Map) how docible this little man was: I will preſent a taſte of his Abilities.

My Lord of *Devonſhire*, (upon the certainty the *Spaniard* would invade *Ireland* with a ſtrong Army) had written very earneſtly to the Queen and the Council, for ſuch Supplies to be ſent over, that might enable him to march up to the *Spaniard*, if he did Land, and follow on his proſecution againſt the Rebels. Sir *Robert Cecil*, (beſides the general diſpatch of the Council, as he often did) Wrote this in private; for theſe two began then to Love dearly.

My Lord, *Out of the abundance of my affection, and the care I have of your well-doing; I muſt in private put you out of doubt, (for of fear I know you cannot be otherwiſe ſenſible, than in the way of Honour) that the* Spaniard *will not come unto*

unto you this year; for I have it from my own, what preparations are in all his parts, and what he can doe: for be confident, he beareth up a reputation by ſeeming to embrace more than he can gripe; but the next year, be aſſured, he will caſt over unto you ſome forlorn hopes, which, how they may be reinforced beyond his preſent ability, and his firſt intention, I cannot as yet make any certain judgement, but I believe out of my intelligence, that you may expect their Landing in Munſter, *and the more to diſtract you, in ſeveral places, as at* King's-Saile, Beer-haven, Baltimore, *where you may be ſure (coming from Sea) they will firſt fortifie*

tifie and learn the ſtrength of the Rebels, before they dare take the field; howſoever (as I know you will not) leſſen not your care, neither your defences l and whatſoever lies within my power to doe you and the publick ſervice, reſt thereof aſſured.

And to this I would add much more, but it may (as it is) ſuffice to preſent much as to his abilities in the Pen, that he was his Crafts-maſter in foreign intelligence: And for domeſtique affairs, as he was one of thoſe that ſate at the Stern to the laſt of the Queen, ſo he was none of the leaſt in skill, and in the true uſe of the Compaſs.

And ſo I ſhall only vindicate the ſcandal of his death, and conclude him. For he departed at St. *Margaret*'s neer *Marleborough*, in his return from the *Bath*; as my Lord Viſcount *Cranborn*, my Lord *Clifford* his Son, and Son-in-law, my ſelf, and many more can witneſs. But that the day before he ſwounded in the way, was taken out of the Litter, and

laid into his Coach, was a truth, out of which that falſhood, concerning the manner of his death, had its derivation, tho' nothing to the purpoſe, or to the prejudice of his worth.

Vere.

SIR *Francis Vere* was of the ancient and of the moſt Noble extract of the Earls of *Oxford*: And it may be a queſtion, whether the Nobility of his Houſe, or the Honour of his Atchievements might moſt commend him; but that we have an authentick Rule to decide the doubt:

Nam genus & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipſi,
Vix ea noſtra voco.

For though he were an Honourable Slip of that ancient Tree of Nobility, (which was no diſadvantage to his vertue) yet he brought more glory to the Name of *Vere* than he took of Bloud from the Family. He was amongſt the Queens Sword-men inferiour to none, but ſuperior to many:

ny: Of whom it may be ſaid, To ſpeak much of him, were the way to leave out ſomething that might add to his praiſe, and to forget more that could add to his Honour.

I find not that he came much to the Court, for he lived almoſt perpetually in the Camp: but when he did, no Man had more of the Queen's Favour, and none leſs envyed; for he ſeldom troubled it with the jealouſie and alarms of ſupplantations; his way was another ſort of undermining. They report, that the Queen (as ſhe loved Martial Men) would Court this Gentleman, as ſoon as he appeared in her Preſence. And ſurely he was a Souldier of great worth, and Commanded Thirty years in the Service of the States, and Twenty years over the *Engliſh* in Chief, as the Queen's General: and he that had ſeen the Battel of *Newport*, might there beſt have taken him, and his Noble Brother my Lord of *Tilbury*, to the Life.

Worceſter.

MY Lord of *Worceſter* I have here put laſt, but not leaſt in the Queen's Favour. He was of the ancient and Noble Blood of the *Bewfords*, and of her Grandfather's Line by the Mother; which the Queen could never forget; eſpecially where there was a concurrency of old blood with fidelity, a mixture which ever ſorted with the Queen's Nature. And though there might appear ſomething in this Houſe which might avert her Grace, (though not to ſpeak of my Lord himſelf, but with due reverence and Honour) I mean contrariety or ſuſpicion in Religion; yet the Queen ever reſpected this Houſe, and principally this Noble Lord, whom ſhe firſt made Maſter of the Horſe, and then admitted of her Council of State. In his youth (part whereof he ſpent before he came to reſide at Court) he was a very fine

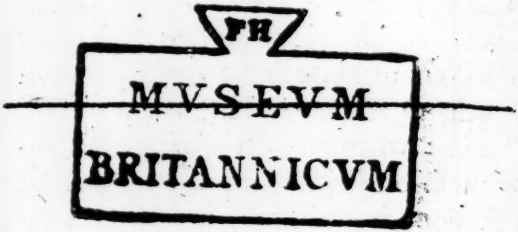
fine Gentleman, and the beſt Horſeman and Tilter of the Times, which were then the Manlike and Noble Recreations of the Court, and ſuch as took up the Applauſe of Men, as well as the Praiſe and Commendadation of Ladies. And when years had abated theſe Exerciſes of Honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound Counſellor. And as I have placed him laſt, ſo was he the laſt Liver of all the Servants of her Favour, and had the honour to ſee his Renowned Miſtriſs, and all of them laid in the places of their Reſt: And for himſelf, after a Life of a very Noble and Remarkable Reputation, he died Rich, and in a Peaceable Old Age. A fate, (that I make the laſt, and none of the ſlighteſt Obſervations) which befel not many of the reſt; for they expired like unto Lights blown out, with the Snuff ſtinking, not commendably extinguiſhed, and with Offence to the ſtanders by.

And thus have I delivered up this my poor Eſſay; A little Draught of this great Princeſs, and her Times, with the Servants of her State and Favour. I cannot ſay, I have finiſhed it; for I know how defective and imperfect it is, as limbed onely in the original nature, not without the active ble-

miſhes; and ſo left it as a task fitter for remote times, and the ſallies of ſome bolder Pencil to correct that which is amiſs, and draw the reſt up to life. As for me to have endeavoured it, I took it to conſideration, how eaſily I might have daſht in too much of the ſtrain of pollution, and thereby have defaced that little which is done: For I profeſs, I have taken care ſo to maſter my Pen, that I might not (*ex animo*, or of ſet-purpoſe) diſcolour truth, or any of the parts thereof, otherwiſe than in concealment. Happily there are ſome which will not approve of this modeſty, but will cenſure me for puſillanimity, and, with great cunning Artiſts attempt to draw their Line further out at large, and, upon this of mine; which may with ſomewhat more eaſe be effected, for that the frame is ready made to their hands; and then happily I could draw one in the midſt of theirs. But that modeſty in me forbids the defacements of Men departed, whoſe Poſterity yet remaining, enjoys the merit of their vertues, and do ſtill live in their Honour. And I had rather incurr the cenſure of abruption, than to be conſcious, and taken in the manner of eruption, and of trampling upon the Graves of Perſons at reſt; which living,

we

we durſt not look in the face, nor make our Addreſſes to them, otherwiſe than with due regard to their Honours, and renown to their Vertues.



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